Spring 2007

MARYLAND

Historical Magazine

A Maryland Sampling: Girlhood Embroidery 1738-1860

By Gloria Seaman Allen, Ph. D.

A Maryland Sampling brings together for the first time a rich collection of Maryland samplers and pictorial embroideries and the stories of the girls who created them. With more than 150 color photographs—most never before published—the book showcases the most skillful, unusual, and interesting aspects of Maryland girlhood embroidery, illustrating regional, religious, and racial diversity.

This beautifully crafted book will appeal to many, including modern day embroiderers, students of women's history, the decorative arts, and Maryland history Unique to Maryland are the antebellum samplers and needlework pictures worked by African American girls—primarily daughters of Baltimore's free blacks. Appendices provide researchers with names of all documented examples of Maryland needlework and all documented schools and teachers, as well as a list of all students known to have worked silk pictorial embroideries at Saint Joseph's Academy in Emmitsburg, Maryland.

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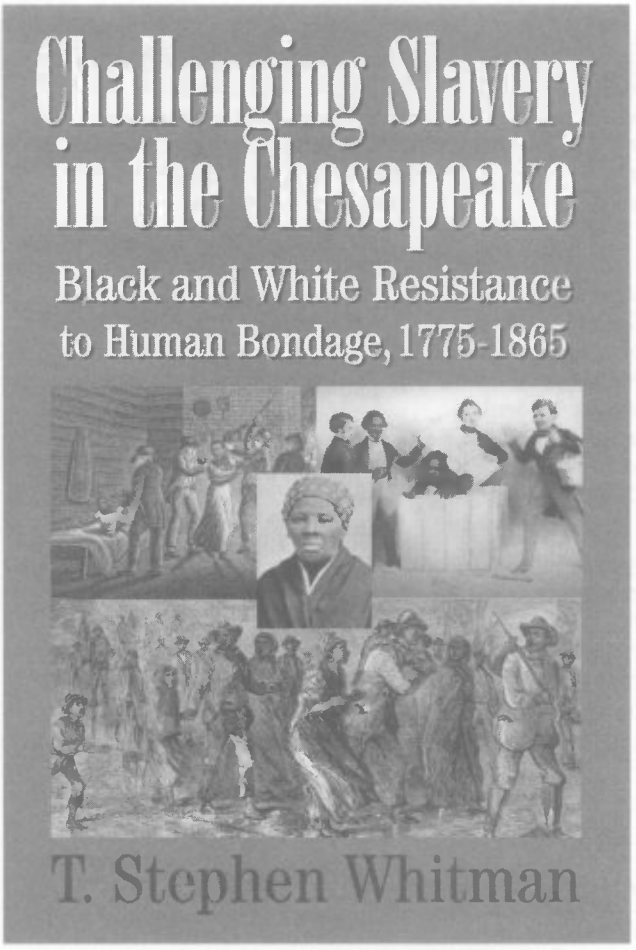
The dramatic and true fight for freedom...



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The very cradle of American slavery, the Chesapeake, brought forth vigorous resistance to that terrible institution. Now T. Stephen Whitman (Author of *The Price of Freedom*) describes the ideas, attitudes, and complex human relationships that gave it form and momentum. Following the Revolution, in which large numbers of blacks sought their freedom by fighting for the British, a largely white abolition movement born of religious beliefs and revolutionary idealism flowered briefly, then fell into lingering decline by the 1850s.

Rising from these pages are the idealists—Benjamin Lundy, William Lloyd Garrison, William Still, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Frederick Douglass—whose pens and voices would not be stilled. Here, too, are the warriors—Harriet Tubman, Gabriel, Nat Turner, William Parker, John Brown. As formidable as they were, their struggle to end slavery would have failed but for the thousands of men and women, enslaved and free, who changed history with individual acts of determination and defiance.

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VOLUME 102, NO. 1 (SPRING 2007)

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Cover Photo: Loch Raven Reservoir, Baltimore County, n.d. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to panderson@mdhs.org. The guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

Editor's Notebook

An eclectic mix of people—academics, independent scholars, curiosity seekers, antiquarians, and genealogists—research a variety of topics in the Maryland Historical Society library and, on most days, those in search of their families and their pasts outnumber the others. Librarians, archivists, and volunteers help them through a variety of challenges, from navigating the electronic card catalog to threading the microfilm reader and answering the seemingly countless "do you have anything on" questions. Most of those who so generously and patiently contribute their time and expertise are family historians, many of whom are officers and members of the Maryland Genealogical Society. Among these, Ella Rowe helped thousands of people in her nearly five decades as an officer and member of the society. She passed away peacefully, on April 19, just a few days short of her 93 birthday.

Quiet, purposeful, efficient, and conscientious, Ella attended to much of the society's administrative work. She served as president and then as recording secretary for more than three decades, wrote, typed, printed, and mailed the newsletter, coordinated book reviews, answered all of the correspondence, and organized conferences. Only in her absence will we truly grasp an understanding of all of the tasks she managed.

Uncomfortable on center stage, this strong, talented, and accomplished woman with the gentle soul lived a life of unfailing kindness. Veteran genealogist Robert Barnes remembers Ella as "always courageous enough to stand up for what she thought was right." Bob and Ella joined the MGS in its early years and the stories of her descent from a convict servant sparked his now decades-long interest in those elusive and intriguing figures.

At her death, Ella told her family that they should go about their lives as if she was still with them. If that instruction also applies to those of us with a love of family history, then "go about" we will, in honor of her friendship and her commitment to the work of the Maryland Genealogical Society.

P.D.A.

In Memoriam

Roland C. McConnell, Ph.D., a loyal member of the Maryland Historical Society's Publications Committee from 1991 until 2005, died on May 2, 2007 at the age of 97. Dr. McConnell, the son of a minister, was born in Nova Scotia, came to the United States as a boy, and graduated from Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C. in 1927. He received his B.A. and M.A. from Howard University in 1931 and 1933 respectively and his Ph.D. from New York University in 1945. He began teaching at what was then Morgan State College in 1948, and chaired the Department of History and Political Science, later the Department of History, from 1957 to

1975. Always a strong supporter of Morgan, he endowed a scholarship for students in the History Department. He chaired the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture from 1972 to 1984. He was author and editor of several books including: *The Negro in North Carolina Since Reconstruction* (1949); *Negro Troops in Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color* (1968); *Three Hundred and Fifty Years: A Chronology of the Afro-American in Maryland, 1634–1984* (1985); *A History of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Through the Years 1959–1989* (1989); and *The History of Morgan Park: A Baltimore Neighborhood, 1917–1999* (2000).

Suzanne E. Chapelle

Addenda

In our previous issue, "A History of the Maryland Historical Society, 1844–2006," we did not identify the artists who painted the portraits featured in the Gallery of Presidents. We regret the ommission. Unless otherwise noted, the work belongs to the Maryland Historical Society.

JOHN SPEAR SMITH, by J.K. Hartley, 1855
JOHN H. B. LATROBE, self portrait, 1883
SEVERN TEAKLE WALLIS, by Thomas Cromwell, 1896
JOHN G. MORRIS, by Oscar Hallwig, 1896
MENDES COHEN, by Thomas Cromwell, 1913
EDWIN WARFIELD, by Thomas Cromwell, 1924
W. HALL HARRIS, by Thomas Cromwell, 1928
CLINTON L. RIGGS, by Brooke Levering, ???
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, by Trafford B. Klots, 1952
WILLIAM C. BAXTER, by Leonard Bahr, 1952, Maryland Museum of Military History
SAMUEL HOPKINS, by Cedric B. Egeli, 1986
LEONARD C. CREWE JR. , Cedric B. Egeli, 1985
JACK S. GRISWOLD, by Ned Bittinger, 2005
STANARD T. KLINEFELTER, by Ned Bittinger, 2005
L. PATRICK DEERING, by Elizabeth Byrd Mitchell, 2000
J. FIFE SYMINGTON, by Cedric B. Egeli, 1989
WILLIAM WHITRIDGE, by Ann Didusch Schuler, 1984, Maryland Club

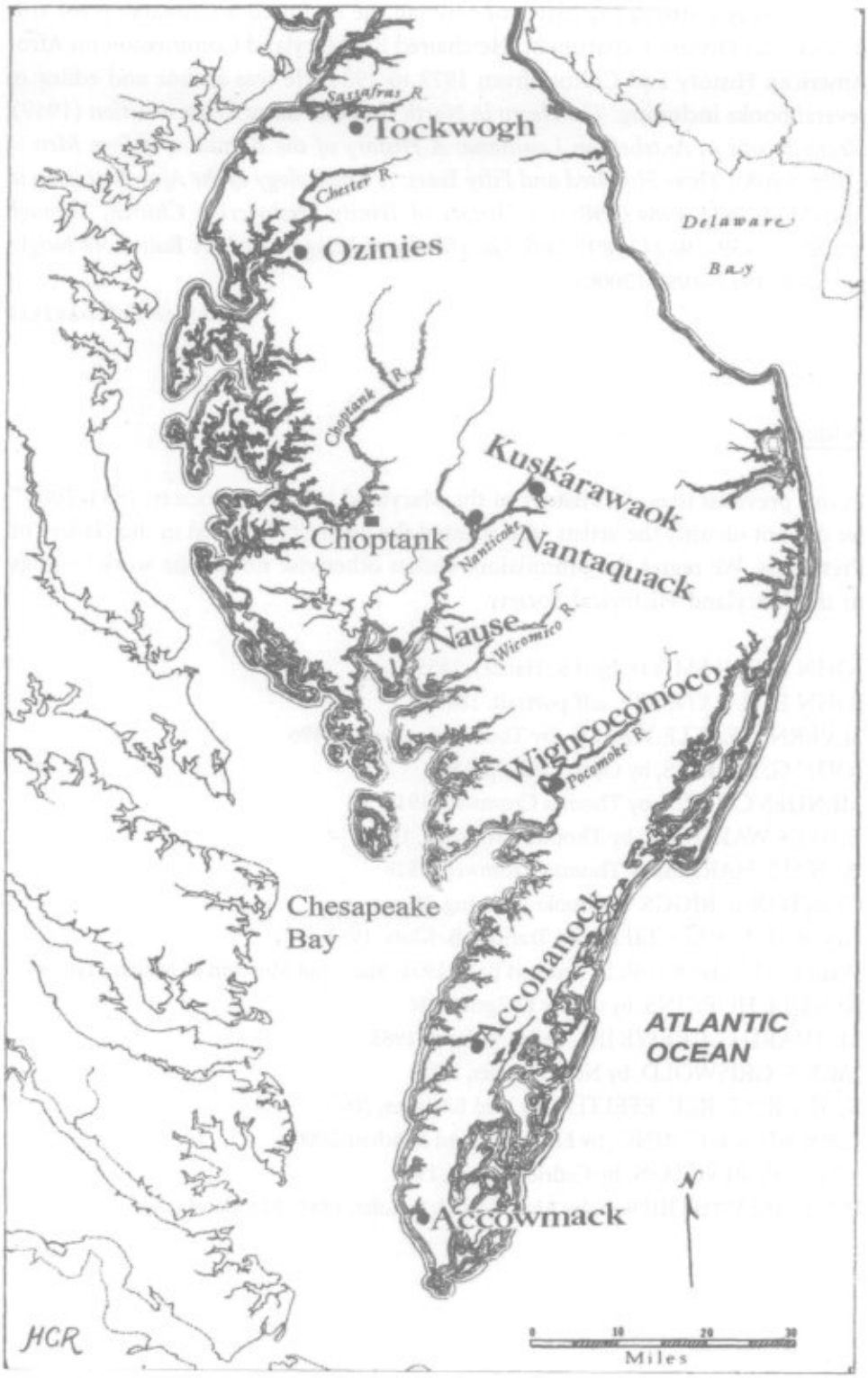

Figure 1. Map of the Eastern Shore showing major rivers and Indian settlements, solid circles indicate those noted by Captain John Smith. (Modified from Helen C. Roundtree and Thomas E. Davidson, Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland *[Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997].)*

Adventurers, Speculators, and Rogues: First Landowners Along the Choptank River at Horn Point

J. COURT STEVENSON

The Great Choptank River is centrally located on Maryland's Eastern Shore. The lower portion easily accomodates ocean vessels of 15 ft. draft and over and consequently served as a popular avenue of colonization in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the sequence of how and when the first Europeans arrived and settled various areas of this large watershed has received scant attention in county histories. Although there are detailed studies of the early Quakers and the eventual shift from tobacco to grain agriculture on the Eastern Shore, these provide little information on who actually surveyed and settled the land. Fortunately, much of this data is available in the early provincial and county records. A synopsis of the early landowners of Dorchester County has been compiled, facilitating reconstruction of settlement on the south side of the Choptank. Yet questions remain, such as who actually surveyed and lived on the land? Additionally, what was the fate of those first landowners? How many actually managed to see the fruits of their labors and to pass a significant legacy to their children and grandchildren?[1]

Rival groups of Catholics and Protestants, often internally divided, settled on the colony's western shore. These divisions helped to foment longstanding societal tensions that flared into open warfare, culminating in the Battle of Severn in March of 1655 near the other Horn Point, east of the present town of Annapolis. This and earlier struggles in the Chesapeake region, including Richard Ingle's "plundering time" and later "Bacon's Rebellion," represent the only known instances of pitched battles between Englishmen in colonial North America, prompting the question of why violence erupted in this area. And, were the first landowners on the Eastern Shore a more homogenous group and as a result less contentious than those on the western shore?[2]

The answers to these questions rest in the rich trove of Maryland's historic records, including archeological studies of a few locations along the Choptank, among them the Horn Point Laboratory locations of the University of Maryland Center for Environmental Science (UMCES). Exploring the historical record in

The author is a professor at the University of Maryland Center for Environmental Science, Horn Point Laboratory, Cambridge, Md.

Figure 2. Aerial view of Horn Point Laboratory, University of Maryland Center for Environmental Science (UMCES), on the south bank of the Choptank River, 2001. (Courtesy UMCES.)

reference to the archeological finds, the larger picture emerges of how settlement in this area proceeded and how it may have impacted the Chesapeake ecosystem today.

Entering the mouth of the Choptank River from the Bay for the first time must have been a thrill for a man seeking land to build his fortune and rise in a stratified society, yet the reality of choosing the best locations for settlement undoubtedly raised the level of tension in any settler. One potential problem was that the local indigenous Choptank Indians had a settlement just upstream of what is now the city of Cambridge (Figure 1). The Choptank had a fierce reputation among early fur traders in the region after the massacre of nine people at Richard Thompson's plantation in 1637 on nearby Popley's (now Poplar) Island. The Kent Islanders worried about such raids well into the 1650s, and it must have been unclear whether the Choptanks would be peaceful neighbors.[3]

At the entrance of the Choptank River stood Claiborne's (later called Bateman's and finally Sharpe's) Island, now completely eroded into the Bay. All of the land was open for settlement on the south side of the river with the exception of Manning's (now Cook's) Point (Figure 3). In July 1659, Thomas Manning had 500 acres surveyed at the mouth of the Choptank and named it Malden. Manning, described as a gentleman, claimed headrights for 1,200 acres of land in 1659 on the Eastern Shore for transporting twelve people to Maryland including his wife, Grace, and their two children, John and Thomas. Although a Puritan, he took his oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore and gained appointment as a captain in the militia. In 1661, Thomas Manning served as a burgess for Calvert County along with Richard Preston, Richard Smith, and Thomas Trueman. Additionally, in 1661, Manning worked as the steward for St. Clements Manor Court in St. Mary's County where he appears to have been acting as an attorney for Thomas Gerard. By 1663, Captain Manning stood as the colony's attorney general, responsible for prosecuting capital crimes in

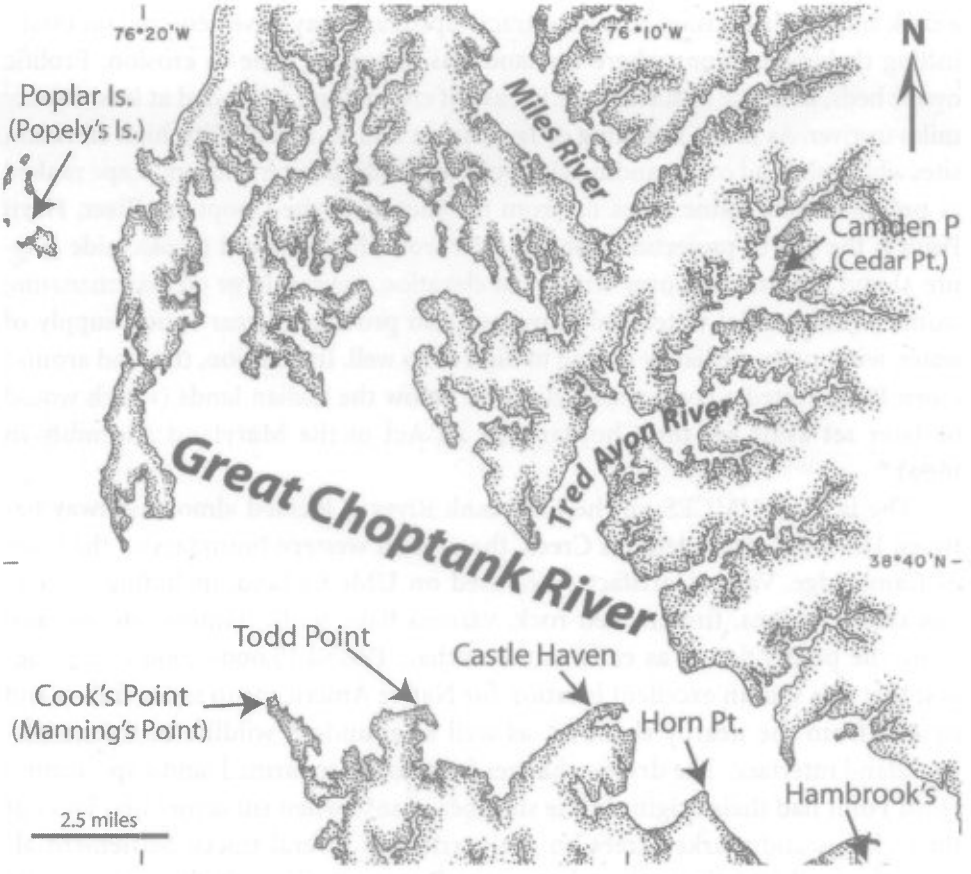

Figure 3. Lower portion of the Great Choptank River and Tred Avon River. Names in parentheses are those used in the seventeenth century. (Author's image.)

the province. He lived at Calvert Cliffs on a six-hundred-acre tract, Theabush, adjacent to the three-hundred-acre patent, The Goare. Manning, within spy glass range of Malden, certainly judged it a suitable location for an "out plantation." Yet much of Malden, exposed to waves, has also eroded into the Bay.[4]

Other early settlers chose to proceed quite some distance up the river, past Malden. Perhaps they sensed something odious about its owner, Captain Manning, whose neighbor William Dorrington later accused him of child abuse. In July 1669, Dorrington, who moved to the Choptank after Manning sold Malden, alleged that Manning had attacked his twelve year old daughter, Sarah and "did by force of arms assault, wound, beat and evil treat Sarah." The condition of the child, traumatized and "afraid for her life or loss of limbs," compelled the court to send the sheriff of Calvert County for security from Manning in order that he appear and answer the charge. The case, however, remained unresolved as Manning died in early 1671.[5]

Regardless of whether the first Choptank settlers suspected that Manning had

a dark side, their decision to patent tracts upstream may have centered on establishing their plantations where the land was less susceptible to erosion. Prolific oyster beds, a source of sustenance in case of crop failure, extended at least twenty miles upriver. As in the founding of Jamestown and St. Mary's City, high elevation sites where one had commanding views of surrounding water and landscape ranked as premium land. Nine miles up from the mouth of the Choptank River, Horn Point is the fourth projection into the river from the starboard (south) side (Figure 3) and the first area over ten feet in elevation. Several large creeks emanating from the substantial watershed may have also provided a year-round supply of water, without immediately having to dig a deep well. In addition, the land around Horn Point rested a comfortable distance below the Indian lands (which would be later set aside for the Choptank by an Act of the Maryland Assembly in 1669).[6]

The land of UMCES on the Choptank River is located almost midway between Horn Point and Jenkins Creek, the present western boundary of the town of Cambridge. Various artifacts excavated on UMCES land, including numerous shell middens, fire-cracked rock, various flake tools, hammer stones, and projectile points dating as early as the Archaic Period (9,000–1,000 B.C.), suggest that this was an excellent location for Native Americans to savor finfish and oysters from the nearby shallows, as well as abundant wildlife at the marsh-woodland interface. The drastic changes from forest to farmed landscape around Horn Point had their origins in the summer of 1659 when surveyors first laid out their chains and marked trees on the corners of several tracts. Settlement altered the land and the entire Chesapeake Bay ecosystem, which remain under study today.[7]

With its deep channel providing ready access for ships laden with tobacco bound for England, properties along the lower twenty miles on the north side of the Choptank were quickly taken up by men with an eye towards the future and the means to engage in the market. The largest survey belonged to Edward Lloyd, the 3,050 acre Hier dir Lloyd, recorded August 11, 1659, at St. Mary's. Lloyd had first settled in Virginia before migrating with the Puritans to Maryland. In July 1650, Lord Baltimore designated him as the commander of newly formed Anne Arundel County. As such, he had the authority to "grant warrants for Land within the Said County to any Adventurers or planters according to his Lordship's Conditions of Plantations." Four years later, Lloyd became one of the Puritan leaders who took over the government from the proprietor and in 1658 Lloyd managed to remain on the council after Cecil Calvert regained political control over the province and appointed Josias Fendall as governor. Although Lloyd decided to make his home on the Wye River, he patented much of the choice acreage on the north side of the Choptank. Productive tobacco land was still available south of the river. [8]

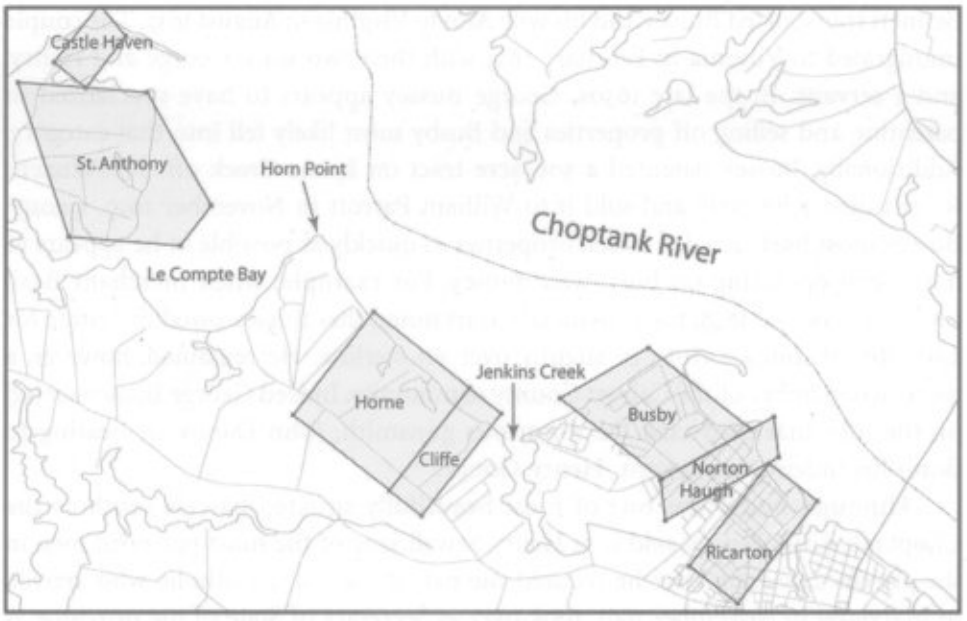

Figure 4. 1659 land surveys on the south bank of the Choptank River, from Castle Haven to Ricarton, plotted using the original metes and bounds. (Author's image.)

On the South Bank of the River

On August 13, 1659, ten years before the name Dorchester County appears on any historical record of Maryland, surveyors marked off several properties on the south bank of the Choptank River around Jenkins Creek, just upriver from Horn Point (Figure 4). Although the name of the surveyor does not appear in the original record, a later Dorchester County land record indicates that former Calvert County sheriff William Coursey led the survey team. Coursey's actual training and ability as a deputy surveyor under Robert Clark, the Surveyor General of the Province, is not clear and indicates that the job may have been a political appointment. His brother, Henry Coursey, a protégé of Phillip Calvert, served on the council. William, one of the first justices for Talbot County, shortly became a co-owner, with his brother, of Cheston, a large plantation on the Wye River.[9]

One of the key tracts William Coursey surveyed on the Choptank in the summer of 1659 was for John Jenkins, a builder who patented the land and may have constructed some sort of dwelling on the tract. Firm evidence that John Jenkins built a house there is lacking, yet Jenkins Creek is named for him and thereafter served as a reference point for most of the surrounding patents, suggesting that it did not stand vacant. Cliffe was originally 200 acres and lay between Jenkins Creek and the present Cambridge Country Club. [10]

Just upriver to the northeast of the mouth of Jenkins Creek, a 500-acre tract was surveyed for George Bussey called Busby (Figure 4). Robert and Richard

Bennett transported Bussey and his wife Ann to Virginia in August 1637. The couple immigrated to Virginia in February 1653 with their two sons, George and Henry, and a servant. In the late 1650s, George Bussey appears to have specialized in patenting and selling off properties and Busby most likely fell into that category. Additionally, Bussey patented a 500-acre tract on Lyons Creek off the Patuxent River called Poppinjay and sold it to William Parrott in November 1659. George Bussey most likely needed to sell properties as quickly as possible as he appears to have been operating on borrowed money. For example, when merchant Basil Little died, before 1658, the Provincial Court noted that Bussey owed the estate for 2,683 lbs. of tobacco (lbt), or slightly over £11 sterling. He remained, however, a respected member of the Calvert County community. Indeed George Bussey served on the jury that convicted the notorious gunsmith, John Dandy, of beating to death his indentured servant, Henry Gouge. [11]

Although Busby was one of most beautifully situated parcels south of the Choptank River, Bussey sold it to Henry Sewall, one of the most powerful men in the province, shortly after he secured the patent. Sewall, a Catholic who arrived in Maryland in November 1661, took over as Secretary of State of the province. A nephew of noted antiquarian and genealogist, Sir William Dugdale, he was married to Jane Lowe (1633–1701), daughter of Vincent Lowe and Ann Cavendish of Denby in County Derby, who descended from King Edward III. The Sewalls sailed from England with Lord Baltimore's eldest son, Charles Calvert, newly appointed Governor of Maryland. For the next three years, Charles Calvert, his uncle Phillip Calvert (the previous governor), and Secretary Sewall, also judge for Probate Court, ran the government. The fact that Henry Sewall made an investment in Busby suggests that he may have regarded it as among the choice locations on the burgeoning Eastern Shore of Maryland. In less than three years, Sewall managed to accumulate 13,000 acres in Maryland and he appeared to be especially enthusiastic about those on the Choptank. In addition to Busby he had an adjoining fifty acres surveyed and named it Sewalls Point. This, with Warwick, a 1,000-acre tract northwest of the present town of Secretary in Dorchester County and 1,000 acres across from Watt's Creek on Tuckahoe Neck in what is now Caroline County, greatly expanded his investment.[12]

By April 1664, Henry Sewall decided to return to England and later that year sold off some of his land. Captain Samuel Groome, a mariner from Ratcliffe, England, bought the 5,000-acre Eltonhead Manor for just £120 sterling. As it appears that this manor was largely unimproved, it provides a benchmark for the value of raw waterfront land along Chesapeake Bay during this period—a mere 5 ¾ pence per acre. Toward the end of the year, Sewall sold Busby to William Dorrington of Calvert County, who had surveyed a 100-acre tract called Hogg Hole on Jenkins Creek the previous year. The tract sold for 14,000 lbt, or about £58 sterling, or 25 pence per acre (assuming tobacco was then worth about one

pence per pound). The price suggests that by this time there may have been improvements at Busby that justified a five-fold premium over what one would expect to pay for bay front properties such as Eltonhead Manor at the mouth of the Patuxent River. Interestingly, when Henry Sewall sold Busby, he described himself as a merchant from North Yarmouth in Norfolk in England. By this time he apparently no longer served as Secretary of Maryland. Had he fallen out of favor with the Calverts or, like so many others, was his health compromised in his quest for riches in the Chesapeake? The latter seems most plausible as Sewall died shortly after disposing of Busby, leaving his remaining property (except 300 acres) to his five children. His wife, Jane, designated executrix, immediately re-patented many acres in her own name. She obviously wanted to stay in Maryland as her younger brothers, Vincent and Nicholas, lived in the colony. The attentions of Governor Charles Calvert could have been the more pressing reason she chose to stay. Despite the fact that she was four years older than the future third Lord Baltimore, they married in 1666.[13]

When William Dorrington purchased Busby in 1664, the court clerk described him as a "gentlemen." He had immigrated to Calvert County from Bristol, England, in 1655 and married Anne Johnson the following year. Johnson was the widow of Captain Peter Johnson, militia commander during the Puritan uprising. Dorrington's name appears several times in the Provincial Court records. One of the earliest cases, in July 1657, involved his testimony in the case of his servant, Jane Palldin, who had brought forth a bastard child, apparently fathered by one of his neighbors. Twelve years later he charged another neighbor, Thomas Manning, with treating his daughter indecently (as noted earlier). The latter event may have provoked Dorrington to move over to Busby. By January 1687, Dorrington had accumulated five tracts surrounding Busby, including Temple Street (250 acres), Bowling Green (19 acres), Hoggshole (100 acres), Clift (200 acres), and Clifton (200 acres)—all of which he placed in a trust for his underaged children, suggesting that he may have been incapacitated. Prominent Quakers John Edmondson, William Sharpe, and John Stevens agreed to administer the fund. If these children bore no heirs the land would go directly to the support of the Society of Friends. Dorrington lived for another decade and at his death he left essentially the same tracts to his son William and 500 additional acres on the nearby Blackwater River to his daughter Ann. Eventually, land sales split Busby. John Hambrooks gained 132 acres, and the owner of Lockerman Regulated added seventy-five acres into that tract, now incorporated into the western part of the town of Cambridge. [14]

Captain John Horne

Using an oak tree as a beginning point on the northwest side of John Jenkins's patent, the surveyors continued in August of 1659 to lay out a much larger 600-

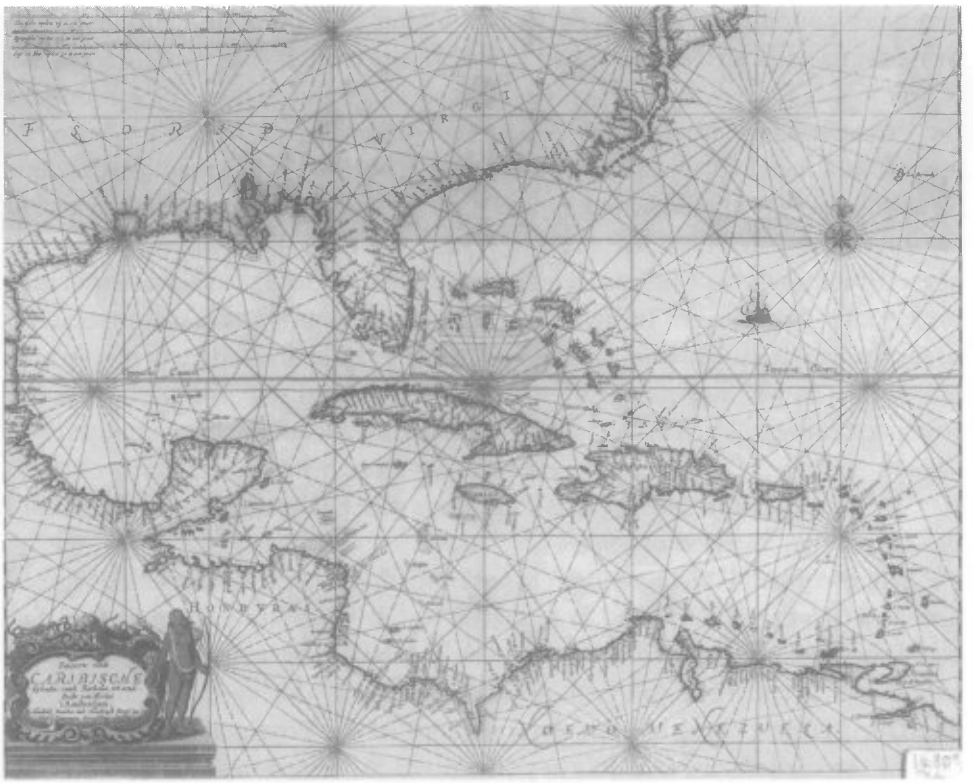

Figure 5. 1680 Dutch map of the Caribbean showing Barbados and the Chesapeake Bay. (Courtesy Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.)

acre tract downriver along the Choptank for Captain John Horne, described variously in Maryland records both as a London merchant and a Maryland planter (Figure 4). Three months earlier, Horne had demanded a warrant of 500 acres of land for transporting himself and three servants, Richard Marsham, John Edmondson, and John Squire the previous year (plus an assignment of another headright from William Worship). Horne's economic interests included more than those of merchant and planter. He also co-owned a sugar plantation in Barbados. In 1656, with partner Richard Hill, Horn bought a thirty-six-acre sugar plantation in the parish of St. Thomas. In the mid-seventeenth century, Barbados was often the first strategic landing point in the Americas for ships sailing from England using the southern route across the Atlantic (Figure 5). Planters settled the island in 1627 and first tried tobacco, then cotton and indigo before shifting to sugar cane as their cash crop. A man with investment capital could make a fortune in relatively short time. As the number of small landowners declined, Horne consolidated his position and eventually became one of the largest sugar planters on the island. Though a thirty-six-acre plantation might seem to be but a trifle along the Chesapeake, this substantial acreage on Barbados held a minimum value of £1,000 sterling, worth more than both of his Chesapeake investments.[15]

Three years later Horne partnered with William Sharpe, another merchant planter, to buy two more plantations on Barbados, a seventy-acre parcel in the parish of St. Michaels and another twenty-acre parcel in the parish of St. James. This brought his shared holdings to a total of 126 acres, within range of the average sugar plantation on the island in the 1650s. During this period common practice dictated that one partner served as planter and the other as merchant. Although the average size of a Barbados sugar plantation had been 130 acres for the years 1647–1653, mean size had fallen to 108 acres from 1654 to 1660, reflecting increasing land values as sugar production rose dramatically after 1650. For their seventy-acre tract alone, Horne and Sharpe had paid the previous owner, William Johnson, £2,000 sterling plus an additional amount of "muscovado" (unrefined coarse brown) sugar. Horne appears to have been actively building his fortune in Barbados and just why he decided to expand his holdings in the Chesapeake in the mid-1650s is a matter of conjecture. Quite possibly he wanted to diversify his interests and not rely on sugar monoculture for his entire income. The first record of Captain Horne in the Chesapeake appears to be from Virginia. A bill dated April 2, 1654, for 645 lbt which Thomas Williams owed him, reveals Horne dealt with Virginians well before acquiring land in Maryland. Two years later, when Williams died, Horne obtained an order from the Court at Nansemund (just west of the present city of Norfolk) for the debt to be paid out of the proceeds of the estate administered by Suzanna Williams, the widow of the deceased.[16]

When Captain John Horne sailed up the Choptank to investigate available properties, he already knew the region. In fact, Horne was not the first tract that he had patented in Maryland. On March 19, 1658, he purchased an unpatented certificate of survey for 350 acres of land from boatwright Robert Coberthat on the Patuxent River. This tract, Hornisham, was located on what is now the border of Calvert and Anne Arundel Counties, forty miles up the river and just south of Jug Bay. Situated on Lyons Creek, the adjacent landowners at Hornisham were Henry Cox and George Bussey. As John Horne and George Bussey purchased Choptank lands that faced each other, at about the same time, they likely shared a cordial relationship, one in which Bussey may have helped look after Horne's interests when the latter was out of the province.[17]

John Horne first appeared in the Maryland Provincial Court on April 22, 1659, when it convened at George Reade's house in Calvert County. The presiding justices at that session were Lord Baltimore's younger half-brother, Phillip Calvert, then Secretary to the Province, and Josias Fendall, newly appointed Governor. Also present were Nathaniel Utie, Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, and Edward Lloyd, indicating that Horne must have been acquainted with the most powerful men in Maryland when he patented his 600 acres on the Choptank River. In that April session, Horne testified that he had witnessed the sending of a letter from a William Backhouse to John Bateman, a wealthy Patuxent River merchant. Bateman had

been a haberdasher in London before immigrating to Maryland with his wife, Mary, and eight servants by May 1658. That same month he gained exclusive rights, previously belonging to Nathaniel Utie, to trade with the Indians for beaver skins. The following year he initiated the patenting process for Claiborne's Island at the mouth of the Choptank and Perry Point at the head of the Chesapeake. The former haberdasher then purchased Resurrection Manor, also a prime trading location on the south side of the Patuxent River, from Thomas Cornwalleys. With money borrowed from London's Henry Scarborough, Bateman rose quickly in Maryland. Lord Baltimore appointed him a member of the Council in November 1660. The letter William Backhouse wrote to Bateman on December 3, 1658, contained routine payment instructions and directions for handling various goods, including salt for preserving meat bound for Barbados.[18]

Key to the Trunk

Yet the Backhouse letter also makes a reference to other papers, locked in a mysterious trunk, and bearing the ominous sound of the beginnings of the slave trade in Maryland. "You will find by writing and letters to you of the sale of the Negroes. Pray doe what you can with it. Mr. Lee's Agents if you & they can agree for what Negroes are living as they were appraised." Backhouse entrusted Horne with the key to the trunk which the latter reportedly passed on to Richard Hobbs, captain of a Maryland schooner. This action suggests that if Horne was not an actual principal, he facilitated one of the early well-documented slave importations to Maryland, a full five years before King Charles II granted the Royal African Company a monopoly on the slave trade. Historians have identified the Dutch as the first Chesapeake slave traders, yet this incident suggests that English merchants on Barbados also had an early hand in the trade. The subsequent records of the Provincial Court make frequent reference thereafter to John Bateman as the recipient of the shipment of goods and slaves (along with a Mr. Lee), but neither William Backhouse nor the slaves appear in those records again. Did Backhouse die of the raging fever he complained of in his letter, and did the unfortunate Negroes survive the journey below decks and go on to struggle in Maryland's tobacco fields? Furthermore, did John Horne bring slaves from Barbados on that same voyage, for his own use, perhaps to help grow tobacco on his Chesapeake plantations? These questions remain unanswered.[19]

In August 1659, surveyors marked off a third 800-acre tract on the Choptank, downriver from Horne, on the west side of what is now known as LeCompte Bay (Figure 4). This patent, St. Anthony, belonged to Anthony LeCompte, a native of Picardy, France, who had previously purchased Compton, a seventy-five-acre plantation in Calvert County, on the lower Patuxent, from Ishmael Wright. LeCompte had immigrated to Maryland by 1656 and had apparently served with the English army in the low countries of Europe. Despite the fact that he was a

man of considerable wealth, he upset his Calvert County neighbors on several occasions. John Chearon (Charon) demanded a warrant for LeCompte's arrest on April 27, 1658. Although that suit was eventually dropped, LeCompte was again in Provincial Court in March 1660 when he pressed charges and craved damages of a thousand pounds of tobacco against his neighbor John Ashcombe for trespassing on his property. The court found in favor of Ashcombe and shortly thereafter LeCompte moved across the bay to his property on the Choptank. Just before that episode, LeCompte made a trip to France where he picked up his future bride, Hester Dottando (or Doatlando) of the Dieppe in Normandy. The couple married in July 1661, at St. Helen Bishopsgate London, and then made their way to Maryland. Anthony and Hester LeCompte and their growing family became the earliest documented permanent European settlers on the south bank of the Choptank. Despite the dangers of disease and threat of Indian attacks, the LeComptes ultimately survived in the frontier environment and had six children by the time LeCompte drafted and signed his last will on September 9, 1673.[20]

The early years on the Choptank became legendary in the LeCompte family, with stories of the fear of Indian incursions that prompted the construction of their first dwelling—St. Anthony stood with high narrow windows and cannon. LeCompte had great skill with firearms. In September 1657, the Assembly awarded him 300 lbt for killing three of the twelve wolves submitted as bounties in what was then Patuxent County. The Assembly:

> Declared that every one who shall kill a wolfe and bring the head thereof to any of the Commissioners shall be allowed one hundred pounds of Tobacco from the County where the wolf shall be killed & that such Commissioners to whom the wolfes head shall be brought shall Cut out the Tongue of the said head to prevent that deceit of twice or oftner payment for the same head.

The reduction of wolves and the suppression of Indian pillaging allowed the settlers to let their livestock loose in the woods. In January 1666, he registered his earmark for hogs, evidence that he then let his pigs run wild in the forests around LeCompte Bay.[21]

Upon the establishment of Dorchester County, LeCompte served as one of the first justices, from 1669 to 1671. Despite his position, he faced a charge in Provincial Court in April 1670:

> That Anthony Lecompte of the County of Dorchester Planter [on] the Tenth day of November 1669 with Force & Armes &c, In a Certain Tobacco house in the said County of Dorchester standing, One Hogshead of Tobacco that was Lying therein, And that was Received & marked for the use of the Lord Proprietary by the Officer Appointed to Collect his Lordship's dues and Other

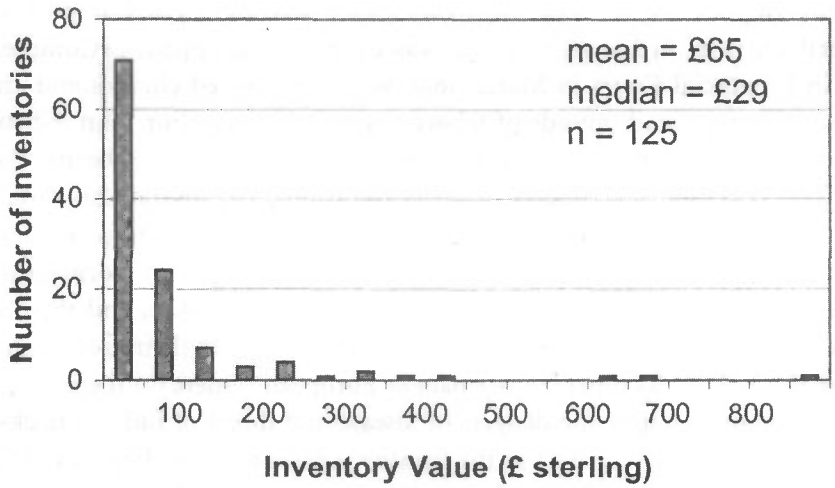

Figure 6. Inventoried wealth in Dorchester County, compiled from seventeenth-century probate records. (Edward H. Nabb Research Center, Salisbury University, http://nabbhistory.salisbury.edu.)

> Publique Charges did break open, And two hundred pounds of Neate Tobaccoe out of the said Hogshead did Purloine and embezzell Contrary to the Peace of the said Lord Proprietary his Rule.

A serious offense, LeCompte arranged to have fellow Dorchester justice, and neighbor Stephen Gary represent him in the matter. Both had to post bonds to appear at a later court session. Gary must have mounted a credible defense on the part of his client. On December 17, 1670, the court record notes that after much debate, LeCompte "should go quitt of the said presentment."[22]

Following Anthony LeCompte's death in the fall of 1673, Henry Trippe and John Brooke, two of the most influential settlers south of the Choptank, made an inventory of his goods and the list offers a glimpse of the deceased's material wealth. At his death, LeCompte had two well-lined coats and jackets (one fur), a doublet and waistcoat, eight pairs of stockings, and four new felt hats valued at 70 lbt each. His household goods were substantial, including seven new leather chairs, eight old leather chairs, four wooden chairs, five chests, a couch, three looking glasses, as well as an assortment of bedding and rugs. He also owned a large quantity of cloth, much of it from Holland, as well as calico, linen, and cotton of various types suggesting that he could have been merchandizing and planting. LeCompte's tools included reaping hooks, several hammers, saws, iron wedges, and a forging pan. Reflecting his interests in hunting and protecting his family, firearms were abundant in LeCompte's inventory. He had seven fowling pieces, a carbine, and three pistols. Perhaps contradicting the family legends, Trippe and

Figure 7. The wing on the left of Jarvis Hill, south of LeCompte Bay, may have been constructed in the seventeenth century. (H.C. Foreman, Early Plantation Houses of Maryland *[Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1982].)*

Brooke listed no cannon. LeCompte also had a substantial amount of fishing gear, including herring nets and twine, and a small boat valued at 100 lbt. Also inventoried were thirty-two cows, eight calves, eight heifers, four bulls, ten horses and a parcel of hogs. Among the men in debt to Anthony LeCompte were John Edmondson (15 shillings), John Richardson (8 shillings), Daniel Clarke (920 lbt), John Pitt (760 lbt), Edward Lappage (3,263 lbt), Richard Willis (237 lbt), Richard Lewis (1,089 lbt) and Michael Taylor (16 bushels of wheat). The total value of the items listed (excluding those valued in sterling) came to 149,768 lbt (or roughly £624), the third wealthiest of the 125 seventeenth-century Dorchester County inventories. The distribution of wealth in the county, from 1670 to 1700, was highly skewed (Figure 6). The mean value of inventories stood at just over £76 and the median just under £32.[23]

The year after LeCompte's death, Hester married a prosperous St. Mary's City merchant, Mark Cordea, another French émigré. Interestingly, she had married LeCompte, a Protestant, in a London church Mark Cordea was clearly a Catholic. Possibly Cordea's wealth, ability to speak French, plus his stature as one of the six aldermen of St. Mary's City appointed by Lord Baltimore, offset any religious differences. From the large number of lawsuits he brought before the court, he wielded significant power. As aggressive as he may have been in business dealings, Cordea appears to have been kindly to his new family and did not im-

pede his stepsons John, Moses, Phillip, and Anthony from obtaining their father's property on the Eastern Shore. Indeed, LeCompte descendants held several tracts around what was first called Monsieur's Bay, and later LeCompte Bay, for many generations. One of the old family plantation houses, Jarvis Hill, located just south of LeCompe Bay next to UMCES land, owned by William G. LeCompte in the 1850s, survived until the end of the twentieth century (Figure 7). On a small knoll a few yards north of the ruins of this plantation house stands the old LeCompte burial ground.[24]

One of the court cases brought against Mark Cordea reveals how tight fisted the emerging gentry could be in seventeenth-century Maryland. Apparently Cordea tried to provide his eldest stepson, John LeCompte, with indentured servant Elizabeth Cannee, for use on his plantation in Dorchester County. According to Elizabeth's testimony, LeCompte said that he would exchange her rights to the corn and clothes due her at the end of service for immediate freedom. When Elizabeth signed her end-of-service rights over and received a written discharge from LeCompte, Cordea had her arrested and threatened to make her serve ten more days for every one day's absence from service. Upon hearing the case in February 1680, the Provincial Court ordered:

> Elizabeth Cannee serve the said Mark Cordea until the expiration of her time of servitude according to her Indenture, And that the said Mark [Cordea] be for ever debarred from taking any advantage against the said Elizabeth for the time she absented her self from the service of the said Mark [Cordea] by virtue of the Discharge from the said John LeCompte, And also that the said Mark Cordea pay unto the said Elizabeth Cannee (when her time of servitude is expired) her freedom Corn and Clothes. [25]

This should have ended the dispute, but Cordea was an obstinate man. A few months later, Elizabeth Cannee appeared before the court once more with yet another complaint against him for not obeying the previous order. At this point the justices clearly lost their patience with Cordea:

> It is the Judgment of the Court here this day, to wit the 14th day of May . . . 1680 That the aforesaid Elizabeth Cannee is free, And It is Ordered that the aforesaid Mark Cordea pay unto her the said Elizabeth her freedom Corn and Clothes.

As the judges also worked as planters, often with substantial investments in their servants, they typically decided in favor of the master. Thus this case, along with others involving servants, suggests that Cordea operated beyond the norm, even for a Chesapeake planter, and may account for the fact he rose no higher in public life than St. Mary's alderman before his death in 1685.[26]

Although John LeCompte appears to have been more popular with his peers

than Mark Cordea, and gained election to the Assembly, his own conduct in the Cannee case underscores how the wealth of influential families often came as the result of shrewd dealings in which lawful obligations could be shirked at the expense of indentured servants. Word of the harsh treatment Chesapeake servants bore eventually got back to England. Poor wheat harvests for the five years after 1657 provoked many yeoman planters in England to emigrate during the first few years of the Choptank land boom. Yet this exodus slowed due to a general agricultural recovery in England in the later 1660s. In addition, an economic boom following the 1666 fire of London stimulated the demand for local labor and resulted in fewer indentured servants available for Maryland's planters.[27]

Islanders on the Choptank

Unlike the LeComptes, other investors who obtained the original patents between LeCompte Bay and Jenkins Creek left but faint etchings in local history as none of their descendants remained on the Eastern Shore. It appears that the John Jenkins who patented Cliffe had immigrated to Maryland about 1653 and also worked as a builder. In December 1656, Jenkins and his partner, Henry Goot, agreed to lease Captain John Russell's plantation for fifteen years. The tract adjoined John Winchester's property on the northeast side of Kent Island. The land

Figure 8. Typical seventeenth-century wood frame "Virginia House," reproduction at London Town, Anne Arundel County, Md. (Author photograph, 2004.)

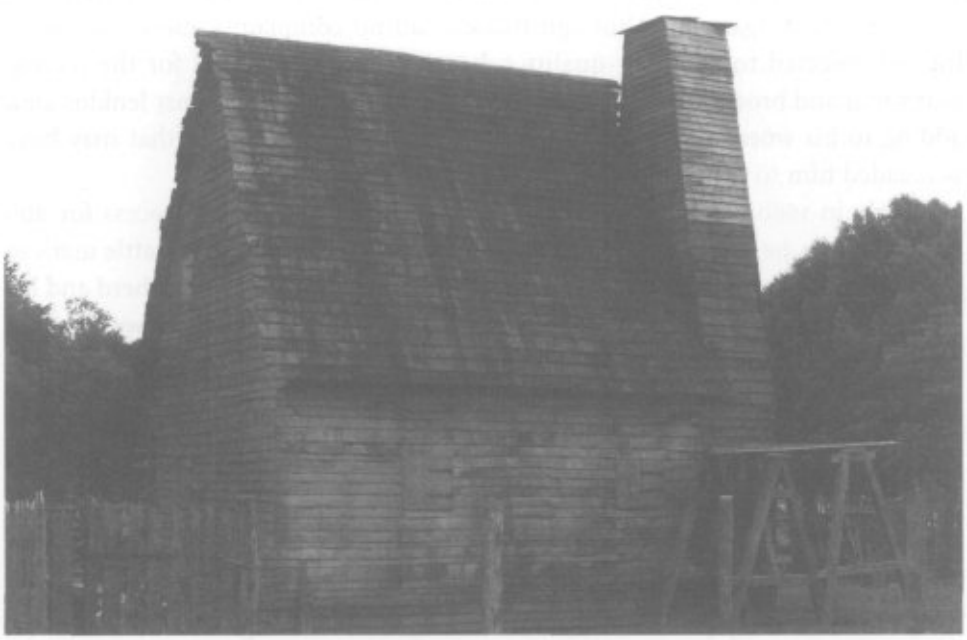

Figure 9. "The Captain's House" at Wye, John Jenkins may have built this house in the mid-seventeenth century. (Author photograph, 2006.)

came with a sparsely furnished house, an orchard, and five cattle. The deal stipulated that Jenkins and Goot would build a new 30 ft. by 18 ft. dwelling house with two chimneys on either end (with the nails provided by the landlord) in lieu of the first year's rent, 1,500 lbt. Although Russell had no complaints about the building, he objected to the poor-quality tobacco Jenkins presented for the second year's rent and brought a civil suit against him. The case went against Jenkins and, adding to his woes, his newborn son died in 1657, circumstances that may have persuaded him to try his luck on the Choptank.[28]

Early in 1660, when John Jenkins completed the patenting process for 200 acres of Cliffe, he decided not to leave Kent Island. He registered his cattle mark in Kent Court in December 1659, suggesting he intended to maintain his herd and his dwelling plantation. In order to maximize his investment, Jenkins would have tried to get as much tobacco planted as possible as a "stint" had been proposed whereby planters would not do any more planting after May 1659. It is possible that Jenkins girdled and felled some trees and cleared a few acres for a dwelling house in 1659. Perhaps he built a modest "Virginia House" (Figure 8), or as a builder, a somewhat more elaborate home. Jenkins's plantation appears to have been one of the earliest landmarks on the south bank of the Choptank River and neighbors immediately associated him with the adjacent creek, mentioned thereafter in almost every patent in the surrounding area. Although he may have been

among the first men to actually construct a home on the south shore of the Choptank, Jenkins did not stay long. He made a short-term profit and then, on April 1, 1661, transferred all 200 acres of Cliffe to his Kent Island neighbor, Mark Benton.[29]

Benton, former servant of Captain Robert Vaughn, sued for his freedom in 1652. At the same session, the Kent County court fined Vaughn 300 lbt for using insolent language during the proceedings and an additional 900 lbt for raising his fists against the justices and swearing at the clerk. As a Kent County burgess, Vaughn earned 50 lbt per day for a total of 2,000 lbt of tobacco in 1650. Thus, his outbursts cost him over half his provincial stipend for that year. Benton owned Cliffe for only a brief time and then transferred the plantation to Edward Lloyd, the area's established real estate broker. On June 18, 1666, Edward Lloyd sold Cliffe to William Stevens of Calvert County. Another of Lloyd's transactions south of the Choptank involved Ricarton, a tract that comprised the land that is now downtown Cambridge (Figure 4). Four years earlier, in 1662, Edward Lloyd gained power of attorney, via a letter, for Richard Hughes, Gentleman, to dispose of Ricarton. In June 1668, Lloyd's son Philemon sold the 300-acre tract for 5,000 lbt to Daniel Jones. Edward Lloyd had returned to England following his third marriage, this one to the wealthy widow of William Parker, deceased merchant of Calvert County. Although the senior Lloyd never returned, he directed many of the details of the family holdings on the Chesapeake from London and helped establish one of Maryland's longest legacies—the present generation of Tilghmans, who still live at 'Wye House' in Talbot County.[30]

Edward Lloyd founded a dynasty and returned to a comfortable life in England, yet what fate befell John Jenkins? After selling Cliffe to Mark Benton, Jenkins bought his warrant for 50 acres and may have intended to patent the land. During this same period, Jenkins built a large tobacco barn and a dwelling plantation for Edward Lloyd. Although the present Wye House dates to the eighteenth century, a dependency of the earliest dwelling on the plantation, the Captain's House (Figure 9) still exists. Attributed to Jenkins, it is mentioned in Joseph Weekes's 1665 lawsuit:

> whereas John Jenkins did agree to build housing for him till the last of September for which . . . Weekes was to pay the said Jenkins, rateable as Mr. Lloyd did pay for his Dwelling house, and for A fifty foot Tobacco house Nine hundred pounds of Tobacco.

Furthermore, Weekes accused Jenkins of breaking down a storehouse door with an axe, an action that also required compensation. Although the court found against Jenkins, his credit remained intact enough for him to enter into an agreement to buy a boat for 700 lbt. Thus, despite some legal setbacks, in a society where skilled labor was in short supply, it appears that Jenkins advanced on an

upward (if somewhat uneven) trajectory and could, perhaps someday, count himself among the gentry—yet this was not to be.[31]

Murder Most Foul

John Jenkins and his wife were found dead in the summer of 1666 at their Kent Island plantation. On August 21, Nicholas Bradway and Robert Humfrey made an inventory of the goods and chattels of the deceased. The first items they enumerated, John Jenkins's carpentry tools, included a decent saw, a hand saw, and a fair broad-axe worth 200 lbt. They also counted two razors, a pair of scissors, a long gun (200 lbt), a butter tub, four chairs, a wooden platter, a parcel of earthen ware, cooking utensils, some linen (100 lbt), an old box, a trunk, and bedding with bolsters. In terms of livestock there were three pigs and a sow as well as a cow and a calf running wild in the woods. Bradway and Humfrey listed a boat valued at 400 lbt. Added to his 125-acre plantation, worth 1,800 lbt, Jenkins left an estate worth 5,051 lbt.[32]

As in many murder cases there must have been a number of suspects. William Leeds, the foreman of the jury who investigated the crimes, reported to the commissioners of Talbot County Court held on August 21, 1666, that, "by the goods that have been carried away, we do conceive that the Indians have committed the massacre." It is curious that the jury report made no mention of any scalping which would have made their conclusion more tenable. Also, why would the Indians leave a long gun behind? Was this a case of revenge on Jenkins by one of his neighbors? There may have been some doubts about what really transpired at the Jenkins plantation that summer as the council ordered no reprisals. If indeed the governor and his closest advisors did discuss the case, no record survives. The verdict of the Jenkins Massacre helped fuel greater hostility towards the local Indians, the Wiccomeses (most likely the "Ozines" mentioned by Captain John Smith). The tinderbox ignited the following summer when Commander John Obder (Odber) and his servant were also massacred, provoking an all out war on the Wiccomeses. Surrounding Indian tribes, particularly the Nanticokes, helped track down those who managed to flee from their settlements along the Chester River. Captured Wiccomeses went, as slaves, to Barbados.[33]

John Horne, the captain who patented the tract just downriver on the Choptank from John Jenkins had a less dramatic fate and earned more than a footnote in Maryland history. He invested in the merchant economy of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, left land that still bears his name, and transported servant John Edmondson—who later accumulated more land than anyone of his generation on the Eastern Shore. In view of Edmondson's later prominence, it may seem extraordinary that he began as an indentured servant who did not pay his own passage to Maryland. Edmondson's meteoric rise was similar to that of the legendary Daniel Dulany, who began his career as a servant of George Plater

in Charles County and ultimately owned a massive amount of land in western Maryland, including what is now the town of Frederick. These men demonstrate that opportunities existed on both sides of the Bay for a man to advance from servant to gentleman throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Maryland, particularly if he had a strong constitution, intelligence, and the luck to marry well. As an adult male, John Edmondson would most likely have been in service to Captain Horne for four or five years which accounts for the absence of his name (after being listed as transported in 1658) in the Maryland records until 1663. This former servant, later named in depositions, was actually present when surveyors marked off the Horne plantation. It is clear that he marked the corner trees as boundaries, and he most likely did the physical work of girdling the trees and clearing the land for planting the first few acres of tobacco. Although we cannot be certain when Edmondson and Horne's other servants actually began the first cultivation, they probably started shortly after the 1659 survey.[34]

During most of his indentured years, John Edmondson most likely spent time at both Horne and Hornisham, depending on which estate needed more attention. As a merchant with additional interests in London and Barbados, Horne left Maryland for long periods and Edmondson's responsibilities, for his master's business interests and his lands, increased accordingly. Indeed, Horne apparently tutored Edmondson and taught him the details of the maritime merchant business as the servant tended the Chesapeake accounts. It is plausible that because of the more centralized downstream location of his Choptank property that Horne preferred to use it as his headquarters, rather than Hornisham, far up the Patuxent River and inaccessible to ocean-going ships. Although delegating affairs to a responsible servant or tenant was an option for absentee planters and merchants such as Horne, the practice did not fall within the norm. Chesapeake court records are littered with cases of poorly treated servants. Others died of disease, hard work, beatings, and more severe punishments and sought escape through suicide. It is unclear why John Horne favored Edmondson, but he most certainly recognized talent and used him well.[35]

In June 1663, after his term of indenture, Edmondson is mentioned for the first time in the Provincial Court records as having Horne's power of attorney. William Whittle called for Edmondson's arrest after the former servant refused to release his 10,000 lbt. This relatively large amount of tobacco, equivalent to the output of five to ten years of field labor, demonstrates the level of trust Horne placed with Edmondson. These years also brought Edmonson the trust of Sarah Parker, daughter of Calvert County merchant, William Parker. Their marriage apparently gave him access to additional capital. He is described as a merchant of Calvert Cliffs when he shortly thereafter bought his first parcel of land, Sarke, on what is now Todd's Point on the Choptank River (Figure 3). Edmondson, obviously on the rise, gained admission to the bar and as a lawyer argued cases in the Provincial Court in 1665. [36]

After Sarke, Edmondson bought the 450-acre Talbot County tract named Jack's Cove and moved downstream to Cedar Point on the Tred Avon River (Figure 3). This serene location became the Edmondson family seat for many generations. When Quaker founder, George Fox visited Maryland in the fall of 1672 he stayed with the Edmondson family at Cedar Point. Together they staged a five-day meeting of approximately one thousand Friends. It was on this occasion that George Fox observed, near the head of the Tred Avon, "that he never saw so many people together in the country, though it was rainy weather. . . . And there was never seen so many boats together . . . it was almost like the Thames." Edmondson remained an active Quaker for the rest of his life and worked as a member of the congregation that built the "Great Meeting House" at the head of the Tred Avon River in 1682. This meeting house is acknowledged as the oldest wooden place of worship still in use in the United States.[37]

Although Quakers could accumulate considerable wealth by engaging in land speculation and tobacco planting and trade, they suffered political constraint as they did not swear oaths. Consequently, they often lost in court as they would not give sworn testimony. Despite this Quaker restriction, Edmondson engaged in an

Figure 10. H. Moll, Barbados, *1728. Horne's is indicated as a lesser plantation (by a square) above the first "E" in St. George's Parish (see inset), slightly north west of Drax Hall. Horne is also indicated in St. Thomas and Christchurch. (Best of Barbados, Ltd., Welches, St. Thomas, Barbados.)*

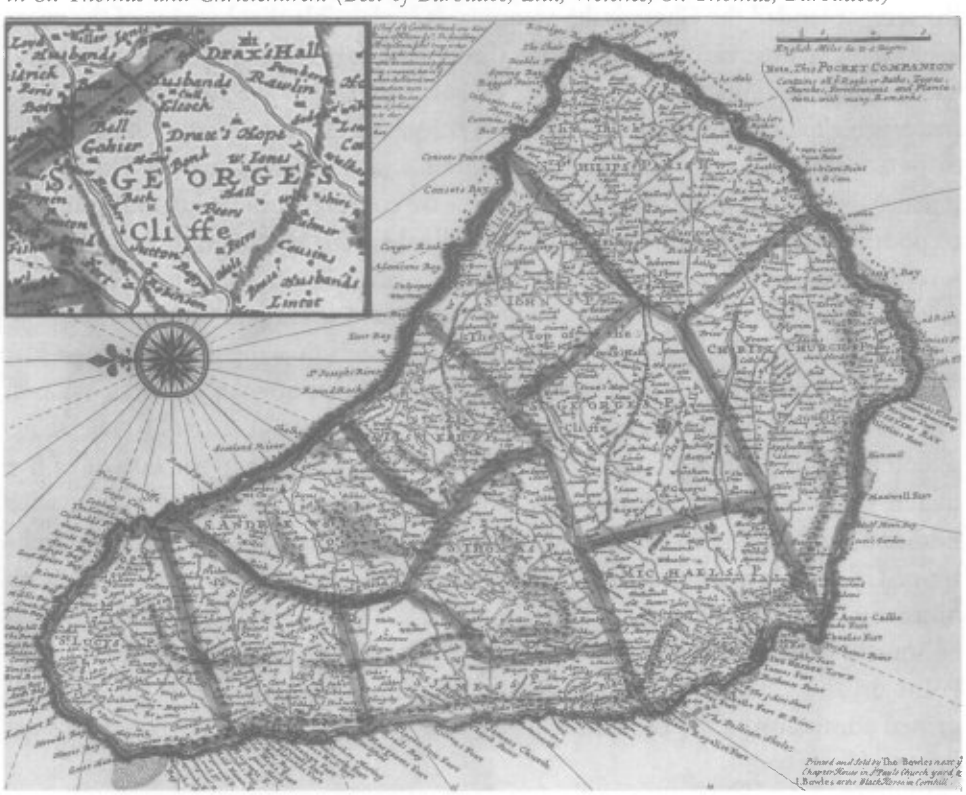

Figure 11. Ashbury, John Horne's plantation, Parish of St. George, Barbados, currently owned by Michael and Annemarie Gill. (Author's photograph, 2005.)

active political life. He was a member of the lower house in 1676–1682, 1686–1688, and 1689–1692, and, contradicting peaceful Quaker tradition, Edmondson contributed the largest number of servants in Talbot County to the campaign to subjugate the Nanticoke Indians in 1678. He subscribed to a lot in Oxford, near the confluence of the Tred Avon and the Choptank, and served as one of the town's first ten commissioners. Late in life, John Edmondson sat as a justice in Maryland's highest court where he did not align with Calvert's government, evident in that he signed the 1691 "Articles Against Lord Baltimore," an action that demanded the reduction of Lord Baltimore's political control over Maryland. When Edmondson refused to take the oath of office, newly appointed royal governor Sir Lionel Copley dismissed him from the lower house. In addition to his various merchant activities, the former servant co-founded a trading firm known as Gamble and Company that eventually became known as the Barbados Company, and dealt real estate well into his later years. In March 1698, as the court probated his estate, John Edmondson had acquired more acreage than anyone on the Eastern Shore—including Edward Lloyd (who had returned to England by 1668). Although Edmondson's estate totaled over 7,450 acres and eighteen slaves, lack of money to cover his debts forced his executors to sell off many of the tracts.[38]

In addition to transporting and nurturing John Edmondson during his first years in Maryland, John Horne had also chosen one of the most attractive properties along the Choptank River, one that is still admired today. Horne, situated on relatively high ground, had numerous advantages in a landscape where waterlogged soils can make growing crops difficult to impossible. This tract had good

land for growing tobacco, particularly along the waterfront where the land is highest. Additionally, its magnificent views of the Choptank and convenient access to a deep channel made it the ideal headquarters for an enterprising sea captain and/or merchant-planter. Captain Horne ultimately decided to settle in Barbados, far from frontier life on the Choptank and apparently made this decision after his 1660 marriage to Elizabeth Holdip of Barbados. On June 13, 1664, the Hornes were in London when they transferred their 600 acres on the Choptank River to Walter Dunch, a mariner of London. The price was £60 for 600 acres, or 24 pence per acre. The price, substantially higher than raw land on the western shore, suggests improvements to the property. By then, Horne's indentured servants would likely have cleared a considerable amount of land, constructed some sort of crude vernacular "Virginia House" (Figure 8), a tobacco house for drying and packing, and a wharf for the small vessels that carried the crop from the landing to the ocean-bound ships anchored in the deeper waters of the Choptank.[39]

John Horne's Fate

The fate of Horne's neighbors on the Choptank is now known, yet what happened to the captain? After his marriage to Elizabeth Holdip in September of 1660, there is no evidence in the records that he spent much time in Maryland. She was the only daughter of the wealthy Richard and Avelina (Hilliard) Holdip of Locust Hall in Barbados. About the time of their marriage, Elizabeth's father sold three Barbados plantations (The Frame, The Coppey, and Hoghole) to John Horne in return for interest-bearing notes. Suddenly, Horne became a large planter on the island and had to concentrate his efforts on growing sugarcane. Evidently, his new responsibilities left little time for the care of his Chesapeake tobacco plantations and is apparently the reason he gave John Edmondson power of attorney for his Maryland affairs. The Hornes settled at Ashbury, a plantation near the center of the island in the Parish of St. George (Figures 10 and 11). This area has an abundance of rich, dark organic soils that continue to support agriculture in the early twenty-first century. The relatively high elevation of Ashbury, at 800 feet, provides ample rainfall from the prevailing east-northeast trade winds. The distance from the swampy coastline, where disease broke out more frequently, made St. George Parish one of the most salubrious living areas on the island—and one that attracted the wealthiest English planter settlements.[40]

Despite their English fears about living in the tropics, John and Elizabeth Horne endured the hot climate and produced four children, three boys and a girl. Although her father died in 1662, shortly after he moved to the Strand in London, Elizabeth had an array of Holdip and Hilliard relatives on the island. These included her cousin, John Wheeler, who was in charge of Locust Hall, her family's plantation. John Horne also had extended family living on Barbados, among them his brother Thomas, his sister and brother-in-law, Margaret and John Jinte, and

kinsman, Richard Horne. Clearly, their friends ranked among the elite of Barbados, most notably, Henry Drax, a member of the Governor's Council who had inherited nearby Drax Hall, the largest plantation in the Parish of St. George, from his father, Sir James Drax. The senior Drax, with James Holdip, legendary figures in elite society, had introduced sugar to the island. Another long-time friend and business partner, Colonel William Sharpe, held 600 acres in Barbados in 1673. Signaling his rising status in Barbados, Horne attained the rank of major by 1662 and eventually gained appointment as colonel of the local militia regiment. Horne's name appeared among the most eminent planters in Barbados in 1673 when he was listed in the uppermost nineteen planters holding upwards of 500 acres. Assuming that the male population (i.e., white and over 16 years of age) was then 9,274, Horne was clearly in the top 0.2 percent in terms of wealth. The sixteenth century Barbadian plantocracy clearly outshone their counterparts in the Chesapeake who lived in frontier-like conditions. A 1676 pamphleteer in London waxed eloquently about "many Costly and Stately houses" on Barbados where "the Hospitality, or Number of the splendid Planters, who for Sumptuous Houses, Clothes and Liberal Entrainment cannot be Exceeded by this their Mother Country it self."[41]

When Horne drafted his last will on the December 20, 1673, he had accumulated tremendous wealth. He held 246 slaves worth at least £15 each, totaling in the range of £3,700. A crop of sugar was worth as much as £15 per acre for a yield of £7,500 sterling—if cane grew in all of his 500 acres. Little wonder that he provided a separate income of £1,000 per year to Elizabeth in the event she did not wish to manage the estate. Although his will does not begin with the usual religious formalities, Horne left £10 each to St. George's Parish church where his plantation was located and another £10 to St. John's where he and his wife were married. Although Horne may have had earlier associations with Quakers such as John Edmondson, he died an Anglican. John Horne left generous allowances for his parents and his wife's aunt and uncle and then allotted money for 100 mourning rings for family and friends. He also wanted six of his slaves and their families to receive four more pounds of fish per week than normally allotted.[42]

Ultimately, the final accounts left Horne's estate £10,735 in debt, undoubtedly the result of a major expansion at Ashbury followed by a devastating hurricane in August 1675. The governor, Sir Jonathon Atkins, reported that throughout the island:

> [the] ruin of houses, works, mills, and utensils [was] incredible. [Planters] canes for next year's sugar crop [were] twisted and broken off, their corn and ground provisions that should have kept their families six months, laid flat and rooted up.

In the aftermath, another observer remarked "numerous families who had formerly lived in opulence were obliged to retire in order to escape their credi-

tors." The actual age of the existing plantation house at Ashbury has not been determined, yet it does have some seventeenth-century features including tray ceilings in the upstairs bedrooms and an elegant stairway in the central hall. Several impressive plantation houses built circa 1650 still stand on the island. Most notable among them are Drax Hall and St. Nicholas Abbey. The latter has distinctly curved Jacobean gables and four chimneys at each corner. Colonel Horne could have built the coral stone house presently at Ashbury in the 1660s or early 1670s, a move that may have depleted his estate, particularly if it required extensive repairs after the 1675 hurricane.[43]

Apparently in financial straits after her husband's death, Elizabeth Horne married the wealthy Samuel Husbands shortly thereafter. An alumnus of the University of Cambridge, Husbands went on to study law at the Middle Temple in London before moving back to Barbados in the 1670s. He agreed to pay all the debts of Horne's estate in return for a seven-year lease of Ashbury. Apparently Horne's older son John died and the younger brother, Thomas, inherited his father's estate. Thomas Horne went back to England for a time and married Mary Gohier, daughter of a wealthy London merchant and sister of a Barbados planter. Late in life Thomas Horne returned to Barbados with his wife and, like his father, earned a colonel's rank and had many friends among the elite. In 1728, Horne's name appears on a map of Barbados (near Gohiers) where his plantation still stands today (Figure 10). Thomas and Mary Horne had no children, and he left his estate to his half-niece, Elizabeth Husbands. Thus John Horne left his (and eventually his wife's) descendants an impressive legacy from his investments during the seventeenth century. Yet this rich inheritance did not derive from planting sot weed along the shores of Chesapeake—but rather from the tropically potent combination of sugar and slaves.[44]

Legacy

Interestingly, only one out of the men who first patented land around Horn Point in 1659 left descendants who became members of the area's eighteenth-century gentry. Bussey, Horne, Jenkins, and Norton did not settle in what became Dorchester County. It is remarkable that of the men associated with those original patents only indentured servant John Edmondson greatly impacted the Eastern Shore. He outlived the first patentees by decades and with his massive land dealings made an indelible mark on the land records of the Eastern Shore. As we have seen, Edmondson also contributed to the establishment of the town of Oxford and served in the legislature. Locally he promoted better roads, as well as engaged in international commerce as a merchant. The Edmondson descendants are woven into the gentry of Talbot and Dorchester counties, marrying into many of the elite Maryland families including the Rousbys and Platers from the western shore of Chesapeake Bay.[45]

What is surprising is how little initial conflict between the first landowners is found in the records. Despite the apparent diversity of backgrounds and religion—John Horne was an Anglican of Barbados; Anthony LeCompte, a French Huguenot; John Jenkins, a Protestant from Kent Island; George Bussey, a Puritan from Virginia; Henry Sewall, a Catholic from County Warwick, England; and William Dorrington, a Quaker from Bristol, England. It seems plausible that fears of massacres by Indians (e.g., the John Jenkins incident on Kent Island) promoted more harmonious relations among the first Choptank landowners and help quell any differences between them. Also, business interests took Horne, Jenkins, Bussey, and Norton out of the area for extended periods of time therefore excluding them from disputes that often inflamed their neighbors (land boundary encroachments, cattle and hog poaching, gross mistreatment of servants, adultery, etc.). Furthermore, widespread optimism in the early 1660s, following the return of Charles II to power, helped buoy the spirits of Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. In Maryland, Governor Fendall's 1660 rebellion caused Lord Baltimore brief concern, but unlike Ingle's Revolt in the 1640s, he managed to stifle it quickly. Baltimore replaced Fendall with his youngest brother, Phillip Calvert, who ably restored political stability to the province. Despite rising international tensions brought about by the contest with the Dutch for trade supremacy that resulted in the capture of New Amsterdam in 1664, the Chesapeake would remain free of wholesale misery until Bacon's Rebellion hit Virginia in 1676. Vigorous religious dissent, centered on the Quakers, remained in Maryland—yet another chapter in the settlement of the seventeenth-century Eastern Shore.[46]

Notes

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1. Note that all dates in this article have been converted to the modern year's start on January 1 rather than March 25, as it did in the seventeenth century. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland, a History* (White Plains: KTO Press, 1981), xviii; William W. Lowe, "The Master of the Ark: A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereinafter cited as *MdHM*), 95 (2000): 263, mentioned that a typical "Kingbuilt" merchant vessel of 350 tons

burden had a draft of 15 feet. Paul Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), and Kenneth Carroll, *Quakerism of the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), analyzed the economic, religious, and social aspects of seventeenth-century life in this area but not settlement patterns. The most accurate information on the earliest settlers south of the Choptank is in Calvin W. Mowbray and Mary I. Mowbray, *The Early Settlers of Dorchester County and Their Lands*, Vol. 1 (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1992); as well as in Calvin W. Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families* (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1984).

2. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton Co., 1975), 215–70, emphasized the inherently unstable and often chaotic character of Chesapeake society in the seventeenth century. Timothy B. Riordan, *Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War 1645–1646* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2006), portrays early Maryland as a powder keg in 1646 when Captain Ingle catalyzed a Protestant revolt against the Catholic aristocracy. In contrast, Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *MdHM* 79 (1984): 44–70, emphasized that, despite problems due to heavy mortality rates and scattered settlements as well as disparate religious beliefs, local governments were surprisingly effective at reducing political instability and upheaval in Maryland. Later failures of leadership that led to the Revolution of 1689 were attributable to the third Lord Baltimore. Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 7–10, 259–63, argued that as the colonial period progressed, kinship networks became paramount in defining status among the Chesapeake elite.

3. William B. Cronin, *Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake: Stories, Charts, Memories* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 56–59, mentions the massacre of nine settlers on Popley's (now Poplar) Island in 1637. Despite initial fears, the Choptanks remained peaceful neighbors, even as their lands were greatly diminished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3. Claiborne's Island was named for William Claiborne of Virginia (born in County Kent, England), Clayton Torrence, "The English Ancestry of William Claiborne of Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 56 (1946): 328–460. After William Claiborne lost his Maryland claims in his dispute with the Calverts, 700 acres on Claiborne's Island were surveyed in October 1659 and patented by John Bateman, Esquire, in February 1660, Maryland State Archives (hereinafter cited as MSA) Patents, 4: 516. John and Mary Bateman transferred their island to Peter Sharpe in October of 1662, William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (hereafter cited as *Arch. Md.*), 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 54: 353–55. The survey of Malden was recorded on July 5, 1659, MSA Patents 4: 120. Thomas Manning's demand for headrights, MSA Patents Q: 317; his service in the House of Burgesses *Arch. Md.* 1: 396 & 441; and his stewardship of St. Clements Manor Court, *Arch. Md.* 53: 630. One of the men Manning prosecuted was Patrick Due who had shot Richard Morton in March 1662 after an argument about eating oysters, *Arch. Md.* 49: 10–16. Manning's Calvert Cliff land holdings are detailed in J. Court Stevenson and Karen Sundberg, *Historical Shoreline Configurations at Cove Point from Original Patents* (Report to Cove Point Natural Heritage Trust, Lusby, Md., 1997), 20–22, 34–35.

5. See Dorrington vs. Manning in *Arch. Md.* 51: 332–33, for quotes. The last codicil of Thomas Manning's will was dated October 1670, and it was probated on March 8, 1671. He left Theabush to his eldest son John after the death of his wife Grace, MSA Wills 1: 420.

6. Land losses in this area are described by J. Court Stevenson and Michael S. Kearney,

"Shoreline Dynamics on the Windward and Leeward Shores of a Large Temperate Estuary," in K. F. Nordstrom and C. T. Roman. (Eds.), *Estuarine Shores: Hydrological, Geomorphological and Ecological Interactions* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1996), 233–59. Mowbray & Mowbray, *The Early Settlers*, Vol. 2, 13–17, plat of the land reserved for the Choptank Indians in the seventeenth century.

7. Various artifacts were enumerated in Martha J. Schiek and Ronald A. Thomas, *Archeological Study for the Step II Engineering Services at the University of Maryland Center for Environmental & Estuarine Studies at Horn Point, Dorchester County, Maryland* (1983) 1: 9-12.

8. Christopher N. Allen's forward to Carson Gibb, *A Supplement to Early Settlers of Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1997), iii-v, provides a straightforward outline of the land patent system. Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County: A History* (Centreville: Tidewater Publishers, 1983), 2–25, describes the Choptank land boom. Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984 reprint edition), 41, discussed the navigability of the Choptank versus other Chesapeake tributaries. Edward Lloyd acquired Hier dir Lloyd in 1659 and began to subdivide it soon thereafter, MSA Patents 4: 240. Lloyd's initial dwelling plantation was excavated by Al Luchenbach, *Providence 1649: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland's First European Settlement* (Crownsville: Maryland Historical Trust Press, 1995), 19 & 28; for Lloyd's appointment as commander of Anne Arundel County, *Arch. Md.* 3: 257.

9. In 1678, John Edmondson testified that William Coursey had surveyed the land of John Horne on the Choptank, Dorchester Land Records (hereafter cited DLR) 1 Old: 167; William and John Coursey patented Cheston in 1659, MSA Patents 4: 220 & 293. They were brothers of Henry Coursey, a member of the Council from 1654 to 1660, Papenfuse et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature* (hereinafter cited as *BDML*), 1635–1789 (2 vols., paged consecutively; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), I: 236. William Coursey was first appointed a justice of Talbot County in 1662, *Arch. Md.* 54: 353–55. Cheston was probably the site where a bear was found in a tree and shot by William Coursey's son (also named William), described by an anonymous visitor from England in 1705, "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland," *American Historical Review* 12 (1907): 334–35.

10. Jenkins survey and patent for Cliffe, MSA Patents 4: 243, 375.

11. Busby survey, MSA Patents 4: 242. George and Ann Bussey's transport to Virginia is listed in Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants* (reprint Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 66; The Busseys' move to Md. in 1653 is documented twice, MSA Patents AB&H: 381–82, as well as in MSA Patents 4, 181–82) and Bussey's sale of Popinnjay in 1659, *Arch.Md.* 51: 40; Bussey's debt to Basil Little's estate, *Arch. Md.* 41: 24; John Dandy was hanged for murder on an island in the Patuxent, Lou Rose, *The Life and Times of James Veitch of Calvert County* (Port Republic: Calvert County Historical Society, 1982), 22–26; Bussey's role as juror, *Arch. Md.* 10: 542. Further evidence that the Busseys never moved across the Bay after buying Busby is the fact that George Bussey served on a jury of Calvert County men assigned the task in December 1660 of viewing the body of Catherine Lake who had died after being shoved by Thomas Mertine, *Arch. Md.* 41: 385. George Bussey apparently died in Calvert County in 1668 leaving his wife, Ann, and five children, George, Henry, Hezekiah, Edward, and an unnamed infant, MSA Wills 1: 336.

12. Robert W. Barnes, *British Roots of Maryland Families* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999), 296–99, 390–2, summarized the origins of Henry Sewall and his wife, Jane (Lowe). Sewall's arrival was noted in Provincial Court, *Arch. Md.* 41: 493. The land acquisitions of Henry Sewall (sometimes spelled Sewell), were summarized by Stevenson and Sundberg, *Historical Shoreline Configurations*, 63–64. Warwick was first designated as Hap Hazard

according to Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 134–35; see also MSA Patents 17: 58. In November 1663, Henry Sewall had 1,000 acres surveyed on Storke Branch off the Choptank River, MSA Patents 6: 112–13.

13. Henry and Jane Sewall's sale of Busby to Wm. Dorrington was signed and sealed December 22, 1664, *Arch. Md.* 49: 338-339; Eltonhead Manor was "signed, sealed and delivered" January 5, 1665, *Arch. Md.* 49: 347–50. For tobacco prices see Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy*, 225. Jeremy Boulton discussed the price of bread in "Food Prices and the Standard of Living in London in the "Century of Revolution,'" *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000): 455–92 and in "Wage Labour in Seventeenth-Century London," *Economic History Review*, 49 (1996): 268–90; Henry Sewall's will was drafted in April 1664 and mentions his decision to return to England, probated in April 1665, MSA Wills 1: 225–27. Robert Barnes "Jane Lowe Sewall Calvert: Governor's Lady and Land Baroness," *The Archivists Bulldog: Newsletter of the MSA*, 13 (1999): 2, pointed out that Jane Sewall patented 9,000 acres of land, far more than any other woman in Maryland.

14. In July 1657, Dorrington's servant was whipped for her indiscretion of having a bastard child. She claimed that the father was John Norton, who two years later had Norton Haugh surveyed, adjacent to Busby in 1660, *Arch. Md.* 41: 14–18. The following law was passed in May 1669:

> that all that land lying and being on the south side of Choptank River Bounded Westerly by the free-hold now in the Tenure and occupation of William Dorrington And Easterly with the Creek falling into the said River of Choptank commonly by the English called or known by the name of Secretary Sewall's Creek for breadth and from the said River side three miles into the woods (*Arch. Md.* 2: 200).

The 1687 land records reveal that William and Ann Dorrington were the underage children of William and Anne (Winslow) Dorrington, deceased; his older daughter Sarah was also mentioned, *DRL* 1 Old:104 and *DLR* 4 Old: 201. Dorrington wrote his last will in 1696, and it was probated in June 1697, MSA Wills 7: 20. The later fragmentation of Busby was described by Mowbray & Mowbray, *Early Settlers*, 20.

15. Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados 1627–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1–181, provides background for settlement of Barbados; deed to Horne and Hill from John Sellman, Barbados Archives Record Book (hereafter cited BARB) 5: 85. The traditional southern route was taken across the Atlantic by the *Ark* and *Dove* in 1634 (stopping at Barbados and St. Kitts in the Caribbean), but in the latter part of the seventeenth century, travelers took the shorter northern route, Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 3–10. Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 1–48, 106–21, has emphasized that Barbadian planters increased their use of slave labor in the 1640s before the sugar boom shifted the economic balance towards the larger planters who eventually forced many of the smaller ones out of agriculture, resulting in the emigration of whites from Barbados.

16. Deed to Horne and Sharpe from Johnson (BARB 3/5: 392). Deed to Horne and Sharpe from William Batts (BARB 3/5: 706). Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar & Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 207, cited several partnerships of merchants and planters in Barbados. For the size of

plantations in Barbados during the mid-seventeenth century, see Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, 102. Thomas Williams is listed as having patented 326 acres of land in Nansemund, Va. in 1648 near the mouth of the New Town Haven River, Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants* (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 189. Horne's suit against Suzanna Williams was the basis of a later Provincial Court case, *Arch. Md.* 49: 55.

17. Horne, MSA Land Office, Patents 4: 243 (survey) & 377 (patent). Hornisham was first surveyed in July 1656 for James Tolley and William Rickett, but not actually patented until November 1659 by John Horne, MSA Patents 4: 178–79.

18. John Horne, Provincial Court testimony concerning the letter from Backhouse to Bateman, *Arch. Md.* 41: 269; John Bateman demanded headrights for transporting himself, his wife, and eight servants on May 16, 1658, MSA Patents 4: 5; Bateman's license to trade with Indians, *Arch. Md.* 3: 342-343, and his appointment to the Council, *Arch. Md.* 3: 394. Bateman eventually accumulated over 5,000 acres with twelve field hands, and his estate was worth about £950, the highest of any inventory of the forty-three people who died in St. Mary's County between 1658 and 1663, Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1991), 23, 28, 98. Sugar growing on Barbados, Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, 98-110, and Menard, *Sweet Negotiations*, 1–126.

19. Quotes from Backhouse letter, *Arch. Md.* 41: 269. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 299–307, outlined the beginnings of slave importation in Virginia which began as early as 1619. John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore: John B. Piet, 1879) I: 66, mentioned that Richard Thompson picked up a "mulatto," Mathias Sousa, in 1634 when the *Ark* and *Dove* passed through Barbados on the way to Maryland, but it is unclear if he was a slave. By 1655, there were 20,000 slaves on Barbados and 23,000 whites, Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar & Slaves*, 87, 249. Initially it seemed the reason that Backhouse did not appear again in the records of Maryland, or Barbados, was that he died of fever. If he did, no will is listed in BARB 6/44: 1.

20. The survey for St. Anthony (sometimes spelled St. Anthonie) beginning at "Frenchman's Point on Horne Bay" was recoded August 13, 1659, MSA Patents 4: 244 and the patent was granted on January 17, 1660, MSA Patents 4: 378–79. Francis B. Culver, "LeCompte Family" *MdHM*, 12 (1917): 46–58, contains a sketch of the family beginnings in France; the Provincial Court case involving Anthony LeCompte, *Arch. Md.* 41, 61, 354. St. Helen Bishopsgate Church still survives and is referred to as "Westminster Abbey of the City" as it has more numerous monuments than any other London church, Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, *The London Encyclopedia* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 711–12. Anthony LeCompte's will, see MSA Wills 1: 562.

21. Legislation on wolf bounties in 1654 and LeCompte's payment for three wolves in 1657, *Arch. Md.* 1: 346, 365; LeCompte's mark for his hogs was for both ears to be slit and half-cropped, *Arch. Md.* 57: 3.

22. Anthony LeCompte's case in Provincial Court, *Arch. Md.* 57: 620–23. LeCompte's lawyer, Stephen Gary, immigrated from Cornwall, England; after settling for a time in Calvert County, he made his seat at Spokott on the Little Choptank River, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 44–45. Curiously, their grandchildren, Blanche Powell and John LeCompte (son of John), would marry early in the eighteenth century, Culver, "LeCompte Family," 51–52.

23. In his last will, Anthony LeCompte mentions four sons. John, the eldest, was given all lands south of LeCompte Creek as well as fifty acres his father bought from William Willoughby who immigrated to Dorchester County about 1673, MSA Wills 1: 562–64; MSA

Patents 17: 585. LeCompte split the rest of his land between his three younger sons Moses, Phillip, and Anthony, and his daughters, Hester and Katharine, each received eight cows. The inventory of LeCompte's estate was made on February 5, 1674, MSA Inventories and Accounts 1: 13–18. Henry Trippe's dwelling plantation was Sarke (located on the west side of Todd's Point) and he was then a delegate to the Maryland assembly, *Arch. Md.* 2: 421–22; Trippe's stepson, John Brooke (sometimes spelled Brookes), was a surgeon and a justice for Dorchester County in 1674 and was later elected to the Lower House, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 13–14.

24. Anthony LeCompte's will, drawn on September 9, 1673, was probated October 25, 1673, MSA Wills 1: 562, and his inventory was appraised by Henry Trippe and John Brooke on February 5, 1674, MSA Inventories and Accounts 1: 20. Lord Baltimore's appointment of Mark Cordea as one of the St. Mary's City aldermen is in a proclamation read in Provincial Court, *Arch. Md.* 57: 347–48. In marrying Mark Cordea, Hester would spend much of her time at their plantation at Cross Manor near St. Mary's City; this must have been very commodious as the assembly chose to meet at "Mrs. Cordea's house" several times in the 1680s, when her husband seems to have been away, *Arch. Md.* 7, 337, 340, and 13: 30.

25. Elizabeth Cannee's plea to the Provincial Court against Mark Cordea, *Arch. Md.* 69: 123–24.

26. For Elizabeth Cannee's second plea against Cordea, see *Arch. Md.* 69: 207–8. Mark Cordea's will was probated in November 1685, MSA Wills 4: 162, and his estate inventoried in 1686, MSA Inventories and Accounts 8: 515. He left his son-in-law, Anthony LeCompte, Hog Pen Neck, south of Monsieur's Creek in Dorchester County and his wife, Hester, a part of Cross Manor and Elizabeth Manor during her lifetime (to be transferred to the Catholic brotherhood at St. Inigoes at her death for the benefit of the poor). Unfortunately, Cordea left a litany of debts that required, after ten years, an act of the Assembly to settle, *Arch. Md.* 19: 454–55.

27. W. G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1620–1759," *Agricultural History Review* 16 (1968): 18–20, described the English yeoman's low wheat crops from 1657–1662.

28. The identity of John Jenkins is complicated by the fact that there were three men of that name who appear in the records as immigrating in the 1650s; the earliest (by 1653) was a servant of George Bussey, MSA Patents ABH: 381–82, 384. Our John Jenkins entered in 1654, MSA Patents 4: 63, 375 and Patents Q: 33 with wife Ann and appears to have married Joan, widow of Thomas Bachelor by 1658. A third John Jenkins entered in 1658 with a servant, Thomas Jenkins, MSA Patents Q: 47. John Russell's agreement with Jenkins and Goot, *Arch. Md.* 54: 79–80. Disputes between builders and clients were a continuing source of friction in the seventeenth century as evidenced by a complaint James Neal lodged in Provincial Court in 1662 against John Tompkinson concerning the construction of a small twenty-five-foot long house with two chimneys at either end in Charles County for 1,000 lbt; apparently the product was shoddy and had consumed over 8,000 nails, adding to the owner's cost, *Arch. Md.* 41: 526–27; see also Frances Neale Smith, "James Neale...hath Adventured himself into our Province of Maryland," *MdHM* 98 (2003): 262–80. The birth and death of John Jenkins Jr. recorded in Kent Co. Court, *Arch. Md.* 54: 129.

29. John Jenkins's grant for a cattle mark, *Arch. Md.* 54: 180; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 140–66, reviewed evidence for average planter's insubstantial houses; Jenkins's assignment of Cliffe to Mark Benton, *Arch. Md.* 54: 216.

30. Mark Benton's freedom from Capt. Vaughan and the latter's fines, *Arch. Md.* 54: 9; Vaughan's compensation as a burgess, Henry H. Goldsborough, "Maryland Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 5 (1896): 131–34. Benton apparently never patented any land in Maryland and is not listed in "Patentees Index, (#54)" at the MSA, but his name appears on a list with sixty Kent Islanders who signed the Commonwealth Oath, *Arch. Md.* 54: 4–5. Apparently,

Benton still had a plantation on Kent Island at his death in 1692, when his estate there was valued at slightly over £37, MSA Inventories & Accounts 10: 310. Mark Benton apparently died in Yarmouth, England, leaving no will, and his widow Hester Benton was appointed to administer his estate on Kent Island, MSA Testamentary Proceedings, 14A: 4 & 15A: 77. Edward Lloyd sold 200 acres of Cliffe to William Stevens in June 1666, Talbot Land Records 1, 15; but a record of the previous transfer from Benton to Lloyd has not been found. Edward Lloyd's life (1620–1696) is summarized in *BDML*, I: 534. When he married his third wife, Grace (Maudlin) Parker, Edward Lloyd became the step-father-in-law of John Edmondson, who eventually replaced Lloyd as the premier real estate magnate of the Eastern Shore in the seventeenth century (after Lloyd returned to England in 1668). William Parker was born in Stepney, England, moved to Calvert County by 1654, and apparently died in England about 1674, leaving 1,300 acres of land in Maryland, *BDML* 2: 635.

31. Mark Benton assigned fifty acres of the one hundred due him to John Jenkins in April 1661. For full discussion of the origins of The Captains House, see J. Donnell Tilghman, "Wye House," MdHM 48 (1953): 89–108; H. Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Maryland* (Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1967), 51–81; Preston, *Talbot County*, 35; and Christopher Weekes, Michael Bourne, John Frazer, Jr., Marsha Fritz, and Geoffrey Henry, *Where Land and Water Intertwine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 24, 52–75. Weekes's suit against Jenkins, *Arch. Md.* 54: 382–83.

32. John Jenkins' inventory of goods, MSA Testamentary Proceedings 2: 72, 107.

33. The murder inquiry of Jenkins and his wife, *Arch. Md.* 54: 402. Helen C. Roundtree, and Thomas E. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Maryland and Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 84-123, discusses the origins of the Ozines and Wiccomeses as well as atrocities; for examples of scalping in the Chesapeake region, see *Arch. Md.* 15: 78, 23: 177, 55: 336.

34. Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *William and Maryland Quarterly*, 30 (1972): 37–64, found that half of the 158 servants he studied who survived servitude managed to acquire land. Of course, Dulany had the advantage of being trained in law in London; for details on his life and legacy, see Aubrey C. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685–1753) and Daniel Dulany the Younger (1722–1797)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) and *BDML* 1: 284–86; Edmondson's testimony that he helped mark the boundaries of Horne, DLR 1 Old: 167.

35. Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, 126–30, 148–55, discussed treatment of servants in America and England. Options of absentee proprietors are outlined by Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 98–103, 213–22.

36. See Lawrence G. Claggett, *From Pot Pie to Hell and Damnation: An Illustrated Gazetteer of Talbot County* (St. Michaels: Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, 2004), 107–108, for a synopsis of John Edmondson's life. Whittles's writ against Edmondson is mentioned in *Arch. Md.* 49: 30, but Whittles is not listed in "Land Patentees Index (#54)" at the MSA. Andrew Skinner reported that he had surveyed a three-hundred-fifty-acre tract, Sarke, in March 1663 for Francis Armstrong, one hundred fifty acres of which John Edmondson assigned, MSA Patents 6: 239–40.

37. Weekes et al., *Where Land and Water*, 201–2, mentioned that John Edmondson's original house at Cedar Point may have been incorporated as a wing of a larger mansion, remodeled in the nineteenth century by Dr. Joseph R. Price and again in the twentieth century by Charles Todd. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 33–34, traced George Fox's travels in Talbot and Dorchester Counties in great detail.

38. Frank B. Edmondson and Emerson B. Roberts, "John Edmondson: Large Merchant of Tred Avon Creek," *MdHM*, 50, (1955), 219–33, summarizes Edmondson's life in Maryland. Joseph B. Thomas Jr., "One hundred Lots Make It a Town: Four Surveys of Early Oxford," *MdHM*, 94 (1999), 173–91, analyzed town development of Oxford and the role of town commissioners such as Edmondson. David W. Jordan, "God's Candle within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982): 628–54, discussed Edmondson's troubles with the Calverts and with Governor Lionel Copely under the royal government in 1692. Mowbray, *Early Settlers*, 34–35, outlines Edmondson's life as well; see also *BDML*, I: 303.

39. John and Elizabeth Horne's sale of 600 acres of land to Walter Dunch is recorded in *Arch. Md.* 49: 355–56. For further comparisons of land prices, see Carr et al., *Robert Cole's World*, 285, who mentioned Luke Gardiner's purchase of 800 acres of land from Gerard for sixteen pence per acre. Although it is clear when the Hornes sold their 600 acres on the Choptank, when Horne actually disposed of Hornisham is an open question as the early land records of Calvert County were lost in a nineteenth-century fire. In the early eighteenth century it was owned by Richard Harrison who also possessed 1,000 acres called Dowdsnell in Calvert County, MSA Rent Rolls 3: 63–65. Charles Francis Stein, *A History of Calvert County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons Press, 1976), 341, lists Hornisham as being owned by Samuel and Richard Lane in the 1782 tax assessment. The name Hornisham persisted at least until 1803 when it was the subject of a dispute between John Lane et al., and Elizabeth Carlisle et al., MSA Chancery Record 53: 121–22.

40. Barbados climate, Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados: a Geographical and Statistical Description of the Island* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1971, first published 1848), 221–23. The plantations Horne received are listed in Richard Holdip's will on file in London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), Wills of Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob/11/309, image ref. 58; also recorded April 7, 1664, in BARB 6/15: 310.

41. Karen O. Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *WMQ*, 41 (1984): 213–40, analyzed English anxieties about settling in the southern parts of North America and the Caribbean. When Elizabeth Horne's father, Richard Holdip, wrote his last will, he appears to have been living on the Strand, one of the most fashionable streets along the Thames, running from Westminister to London, PRO, Wills of Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob/11/309: image ref. 58; and BARB 6/15: 310. In his will, Richard Holdip was concerned that his son-in-law, John Horne, repay his estate the purchase price plus interest for three plantations he had sold him earlier. John Horne's 1673 last will, BARB 6/9: 55, lists friends and family members. James Drax and James Holdip's role in the introduction of the variety of cane used for 250 years in the Western Hemisphere, Creole, as well as the development of the sugar industry in Barbados, G. C. Stevenson, "Sugar Cane Varieties in Barbados: An Historical Review," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 26 (1959): 67–93. Henry Drax's sugar exports were reported to be £7,000 of sugar annually by Sir Jonathon Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantations on July 4, 1677, Colonial Office, Group 29, PRO, London, 181; James Drax's importance in the early establishment of sugar on Barbados, Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 46–116. The population estimate and list of eminent planters of Barbados in 1673, Noel W. Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series* (Volume 7), *America and West Indies, 1669–1674*, preserved in Her Majesty's PRO (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964, first published 1889), 496–97. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 46–48, detailed wealth accumulation in Barbados by 1670 and provides the quotes from a rare London pamphlet of 1676, *Great Newes from the Barbados*, 5–8.

42. John Horne signed his last will on December 20, 1673, in Barbados, BARB 6/9: 55, and it

was probated on February 16, 1674. Slave prices were initially as high as £35 in the 1640s, but they dropped thereafter. The Royal African Company charged in the range of £15 for slaves delivered to Barbados in the 1670s and 1680s, Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 72, 237. Horne's will assigned his wife as executrix and friends Col. Henry Drax, Col. William Sharpe, & John Wheeler as executors, with his wife as the overseer and guardian of his three sons, the eldest named John. Dunn, *Sugar & Slaves*, 256–56, found that planters occasionally would grant slaves freedom in their wills, but often these were their concubines or their mulatto children.

43. Col. Horne's estate in debt in 1679, Barbados Archives, Queree Plantations Book, A-Bis: 14; quotes on the 1675 Hurricane, Matthew Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) 17, 85. Thomas T. Watermen, "Some Early Buildings of Barbados," *The Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 146–49, remarked that although the historical documentation is lacking, Drax Hall and St. Nicholas Abbey appear from architectural evidence to have been built circa 1650 and are the finest British colonial buildings in America from that period.

44. Elizabeth Horne's marriage to Samuel Husbands and Thomas Horne, as Col. John Horne's heir, Barbados Archives, Queree Plantations Book, A-Bis: 14.

45. Matilda Edmondson married John Rousby Plater, grandson of Governor George and Ann (Rousby) Plater of Sotterly on the Patuxent River. They settled on the Tred Avon River above Cedar Point, *Easton Gazette*, May 11, 1822.

46. On May 29, 1660, Samuel Pepys, who had just accompanied King Charles II across the channel from Holland, was proceeding along the Cliffs north of Dover and noted the overall enthusiasm of the moment finding "the people at Deal going to make a bonfire for joy of the day, it being the King's birthday...it is thought, the King do enter the city of London," Henry B. Wheatley, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (New York: Heritage Press, 1942), 163–64. Gov. Josiah Fendall attempted to bypass Lord Baltimore's authority in March 1660, and Lord Baltimore appointed his brother to replace him the following September (in London); the new Governor was sworn in on December 11, 1660, and Fendall was imprisoned on charges of mutiny and sedition, *Arch. Md.* 41: 375 & 447–50. The international tensions that resulted in the Second Dutch War (1664–1667) have been analyzed by Henry L. Schoolcraft, "The Capture of New Amsterdam," *The English Historical Review* 22 (1907): 674–93, and the mood in England at the time was explored by Steven C. A. Pincus in "Popery, Trade, and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War," *The English Historical Review* 107 (1992): 1–29. Attitudes of local Quakers were analyzed by Carroll, *Quakerism of the Eastern Shore*, 59–92. The turbulence of Bacon's Rebellion was covered by Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Sir William Berkeley's: 'A History of our Miseries,'" *WMQ*, 14 (1957): 403–13; and Warren Billings, *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004). For the follow up history, see J. Court Stevenson, "Struggles to Establish Tobacco Plantations at Horn Point on the Choptank River in the Seventeenth Century," manuscript in review at the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

Work, Wages, and Welfare at Baltimore's School of Industry

SETH ROCKMAN

"Winter will again arrive, and find numbers unable to provide for themselves or find employment," warned a committee of Baltimore's most prominent citizens in 1804. Appointed by Mayor Thorowgood Smith to investigate the wintertime disappearance of wage-work and the ensuing suffering of the city's laboring poor, the committee envisioned a "permanent solution" to seasonal unemployment, the School of Industry. Here, men, women, and children would receive food, shelter, work, and wages during the cold months of the year. These workers would also learn the "industriousness" deemed necessary for success in Baltimore's burgeoning economy. Supporters touted the "incalculable benefits" of an institution that was at once charitable, economical, and rehabilitative.[1]

The blueprint for the School of Industry originated in Bavaria, where Count Rumford had removed all of Munich's poor to a self-supporting workhouse. Rumford was once Benjamin Thompson, a New England schoolteacher turned British loyalist during the American Revolution. Having served in the British army and been knighted by George III, Thompson then entered the employ of the Elector of Bavaria. After reorganizing the Elector's troops, Thompson became a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, choosing the name Rumford (the former name of Concord, New Hampshire) in deference to his American roots. Also a physicist and expert on the properties of boiling liquids, Rumford became an apostle of hot soup and designed innovative stoves to aid in its efficient preparation. Rumford turned his organizational talents and experimental kitchens toward ending vagrancy and begging. His *coup de grace* was the workhouse in Munich, a city of 60,000 law-abiding citizens and, as Rumford recalled, several thousand beggars who strolled about "levying contributions from the industrious inhabitants, stealing and robbing and leading a life of indolence and the most shameless debauchery." Deploying the Elector's army on January 1, 1790, Rumford cleared the streets of vagrants, conscripted poor families at their residences, and brought them all to a sparkling new facility on the edge of town, called the School of Industry. There, the poor received housing, job training, and hearty (yet economical) servings of

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potato and barley soup. Rumford's motto, above the entrance gate, proclaimed, "No Alms Will Be Received Here."[2]

Between 1750 and 1830, reformers in America's urban seaports and rural parishes experimented with similar workhouses in hopes of trimming the public rolls. Advocates imagined that the prospect of hard labor would discourage the "undeserving" from seeking public charity. Economic savings and moral reform appealed to poor relief administrators, yet early America provided few models of successful workhouses. During the 1760s and 1770s, Philadelphia's tellingly-named Bettering House earned the scorn of the poor, rather than profits from their coerced labor. More modest plans to make the poor self-supporting through public labor proved equally fruitless in Boston. New York City flirted with a pauper labor scheme in 1803, but militant artisans blocked the project for fear that institutional competition would depress their wages. Efforts to institutionalize the poor—to move relief indoors—continued well into the Jacksonian era, but lacked Rumford's vision of the workhouse as fulfilling a public obligation to provide jobs and training for displaced laborers.[3]

By looking abroad rather than to other American cities for inspiration, Baltimore's elected officials, ministers, merchants, and newspaper editors remained optimistic that a workhouse would end unemployment and begging once and for all. Even without any official connection to the Baltimore project, Count Rumford became a virtual celebrity in town, as newspaper correspondents alluded to Bavaria and signed his name to their comments. Of course, certain differences between the United States and Bavaria presented obstacles. "It is true that we have not three regiments of infantry, at a given signal, to surround all the beggars in the city, as was done at Munich, and *in one hour* banish mendicity from the streets," lamented one advocate of Baltimore's School of Industry. But reassuring potential supporters, he added, "patience, industry, and the will to do good are admirable substitutes."[4]

The School (and later, House) of Industry stood at the center of public debate on poor relief for a quarter of a century, but Baltimore reformers showed neither patience nor industry. Three times between 1800 and 1824, reformers pushed for the necessary legislation, fundraising, and support to open the institution; and three times they failed. Yet the School of Industry is more than a case study in policy inertia.[5] The phantom project provides a telling commentary on the process of economic and cultural change that made the United States a capitalist society in the years after the American Revolution. The timing of this transformation varied according to localities (and their respective historians) but hinged on the convergence of certain social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideas. In urban seaports, these included the market exchange of goods, a cash medium, an entrepreneurial spirit, consumerism, an unequal distribution of property, and the emergence of a functionally-free labor force. The last to emerge

In 1804, Mayor Thorowgood Smith (1744–1810) appointed a committee of prominent citizens to investigate the working and living conditions of Baltimore's poor. (Wilbur Franklin Coyle, The Mayors of Baltimore: Illustrated from Portraits in the City Hall *[reprinted from the* Baltimore Municipal Journal, 1919*].)*

in Baltimore was a labor system where most workers could claim "self-ownership," negotiate the terms of their employment, and keep the fruits of their labor, specifically a cash wage.[6]

Although this process remained incomplete in Baltimore until after the Civil War, the development of a wage-labor economy was concurrent with efforts to found the School of Industry. Discussions of seasonal unemployment and public sympathy for the poor responded to changes in the city economy that made wage-work common, unemployment chronic, and poverty rampant. Initially, the city's small number of wage-earners garnered special attention during the wintertime, as commentators attributed their plight to an unfortunate aberration in the normal functioning of the economy. But by the 1820s, when wage workers formed the majority of the urban labor force, the unemployed received more condemnation than compassion. Critics deemed their condition unexceptional, a natural outgrowth of other capitalist abstractions such as the "business cycle" and "supply and demand." Wage workers deserved no special relief, they argued, but could fend for themselves alongside everyone else in the competitive marketplace. To many, the School of Industry seemed like an outmoded institution in a society where most labor was free.

Yet the School of Industry suggests a second, seemingly contradictory pattern in the emergence of a wage-economy—the persistence of coercive labor relations. The School of Industry sought to add the city's "free" wage-earners to the ranks of

enslaved, indentured, and imprisoned laborers from whom work had long been compelled. Few argued this contradiction but instead advocated a range of legal devices (vagrancy statutes, labor contracts) and technological remedies (treadmills, penitentiaries) to force the idle into productive activity. The School of Industry was just one component of a larger project one historian has called "policing people for the needs of a capitalist market system."[7] In the end, reformers found other institutions better suited to their purposes, while laborers found the greatest compulsion in the need to work or else starve. Although the School of Industry never materialized, its career nonetheless illuminates the uneven and halting emergence of wage relations in the early republic.

Baltimore's Ice Age

Few Baltimore residents today can remember winters so cold that ice covered the city's prized harbor, yet two centuries ago this phenomena occurred frequently. After a string of zero-degree days in February 1817, both Jones' Falls (then a waterway, not an expressway) and the inner harbor froze. Merchants fretted over cargo trapped in port, while waterfront workers waited for new shipments to unload. The city's fire companies feared for their ability to extinguish a blaze because their water sources were "now rendered almost impervious by the thick coat of Ice." The problem persisted well into March. Concerned citizens hoped to break up the ice, calling on volunteers to "come prepared with axes, saws, handspikes, rammers and other implements suited to the occasion."[8] Just more than a decade earlier, another frigid winter had paralyzed the city. John Weatherburn, a Baltimore resident since before the Revolution, recounted the winter of 1805 to his sister in England:

> Our navigation was shutt by the frost from 3rd January to the 26 February—during that time much snow fell and the frost was very severe. Tho' the navigation was not totally shutt untill the 3rd of January, it was partially shutt & the winter severe from early in Decem. to the latter end of Feby. This made a long winter, which was injurious to commerce and oppressive to the poor. The latter are generously assisted through the winter by individual contributions.[9]

Nature situated Baltimore ideally to tap the thriving wheat farms of the backcountry, but it also brought winters harsh enough to stall the city's economy. The best years might witness only nine or ten months of productivity.

Seasonal disruptions of the economy proved annoying for the city's merchants awaiting shipments of coffee from South America or linens from Bremen. But a man of good credit scarcely worried for his family's warmth or sustenance during slack times. In contrast stood the day-laborer—who earned $1 a day un-

loading cargo from trading vessels. His plight was simple. When ice closed the harbor his ability to earn wages disappeared as did the ability to purchase firewood, food, and warm clothing for himself and his family. Seasonal slowdowns also affected those in the milling, manufacturing, and construction trades and constricted opportunities for female hucksters and seamstresses. In fact, all men and women who lived hand-to-mouth found wintertime threatening not merely to their livelihoods, but also to their lives. Officials reported in February 1805 that "there remain many persons in a state of wretchedness and want so deplorable that unless timely relief is afforded, they must perish." The winter of 1817 was so cold that even an opponent of public charity conceded the same, ". . . if immediate relief is not afforded to some who are now without wood, clothing, or food, they must perish." Most charity pleas spotlighted widows and children— "almost naked and in the utmost distress"— invoking traditional images of the needy and deserving. More insightful observers, however, recognized that winter's victims extended well beyond the chronically dependent. Emergency relief officials in 1805 were alarmed to count among the suffering "many meritorious persons whose industry and good conduct have heretofore secured them from want."[10]

Seasonal unemployment was endemic to pre-industrial urban economies, although the composition of the local labor force determined who bore the brunt of wintertime slowdowns. Where slaves and other unfree laborers constituted the bulk of workers, winter weighed heavily on masters and owners, who had legal and economic obligations to maintain their workers during slack periods. Slaves and apprentices surely did not relish winter as a period of easy living, but as costly capital investments, they could expect their masters to provide minimal sustenance despite the slowdown of work. Similarly, the artisan workshop functioned as a form of social insurance for the laborers who resided under their masters' roofs. The familial model of craft labor required masters to feed their workers even when the workshop stood silent. Rather, it was a city's "free" laborers who had the most to fear from winter. An 1807 charity appeal explained their predicament, " . . . in this inclement season many of our Brethren are enduring a painful existence without *Bread, Clothes or Fuel*, which they have been accustomed to procure by *daily labor*, and in consequence of the river being closed, cannot have recourse to *that labor* for those necessaries."[11]

Between 1790 and 1830, Baltimore's economy was in transition. Employers continued to rely upon slaves and indentured workers, but the number of wage workers grew rapidly in comparison, particularly as an increasing number of women, "de-skilled" journeymen, and slaves began to garner day-wages. Equally important, the burgeoning population of European immigrants and free African Americans worked almost exclusively for wages. Each winter, this large cohort faced the disappearance of work. A correspondent to one of the city's newspapers cataloged those suffering from seasonal unemployment:

> the carters hauling wood from the wharves, and those employed in supplying masons and bricklayers with sand—scowmen—boatmen—the laborers in the mud-machines, and in the brickyards, and in fact, all day laborers of every kind.... all those women who sell fruit at the corners of the streets—who pick oakum—and who are employed by the slop-shops.

The author enumerated so long a list to prove that "it is not entirely for the worthless part of the community that it is proposed to raise money" for wintertime charity.[12]

What options did such workers have during the winter months? The obvious answer was to find another job, yet seasonal slowdowns affected a broad segment of the economy and unskilled "hands" had few viable options. Winter limited the need for agricultural workers or canal diggers in the countryside, so that urban denizens had little to gain by venturing out of the city. More often than not, other work did not exist. During the frigid winter of 1817, a veteran of the Battle of Baltimore wrote to the mayor in search of an appointment as a supervisor of the streets and pumps. James L. Stevens told of his plight:

> Your petitioner is just recovered from a long spell of sickness and he has a wife and five small children and he is the only one for them to get support from, and being to weake for to go to sea and at present there is nothing for to be done owing to the Basin being frozed over, I am willing for to do anything for the support of My family.

Sadly, no job on the public payroll awaited Stevens.[13]

Another option for the poor was to live off their savings during the winter months. Wages as high as a $1 a day suggest an impressive earning potential for laborers, with the possibility of stretching nine months' labor into a year of food and rent. Yet regular work eluded most, and under-employment beset laborers year-round. An epidemic, a war, or an economic contraction could throw people out of work in any season. Moreover, most laborers did not log six-day work weeks. Waterfront workers saw demand for their services fluctuate with the traffic of the port. On days when no ships arrived or departed, stevedores and carters could spend most of their time idle. Where work was dangerous as well, an injury to a hand or leg could sideline a worker for a week or more. Even in the steadiest of jobs, few laboring men tallied more than 250 days a year. Their annual income could scarcely cover food and shelter during the summer months, let alone stretch into winter.[14]

By definition, the poor lacked the savings to protect them during slack periods, yet many commentators criticized working people for lacking the foresight to save during peak employment. One contributor to the *American* newspaper

explained that the poor "will not look beyond the day that is passing over them" and were generally "careless and imprudent." Adding that "it is owing to this circumstance that we have them at all," he went on to praise the "usefulness of the poorer classes of society" for their indispensable work in "the meaner offices of labor."[15] During the winter of 1817 another writer indicted the poor for their consumerism. After declaring that nowhere else in the world were wages so high, the pseudonymous REFORMATION took Baltimore's poor to task:

> Instead of expending their earnings in *the luxuries of the market*, or wasting their time and money in *tippling-houses*, these [poor] men ought to know that, by industry and economy, whilst they have full employment for nine months in the year, they should look forward by weekly or monthly savings, to provide for the three months of winter—they should seriously think of providing for old age, for sickness, and for the other accidental contingencies of human life.[16]

The following year philanthropists and investors started the Savings Bank of Baltimore "to promote œconomy and the practice of saving among the poor and labouring classes of the community." Nonetheless, few of the first accountholders were the seamstresses and day laborers most affected by seasonal unemployment. Proposals also circulated for mandatory savings plans, such as the forerunner to the payroll tax suggested by the aptly-named FRANKLIN in 1817, "Let every master mechanic stop a trifle weekly from his journeymen's wages, during the busy season, to be given them when a want of work leaves them unprovided for." The plan found few supporters. Responding in the newspapers, "A Journeyman" declared the idea "as useless as it is new." Baltimore's workers suffered not for a want of banks, but rather for a want of income to save.[17]

Unable to find other work, and without savings, many people relied on charity to make it through the winter. Baltimore had no lack of private organizations ready to assist those displaced during cold spells. Some groups orchestrated annual winter fund-raisers. Donors in search of upscale entertainment might attend a concert by the Handelian Charitable Society at a dollar per head, while spectators of the Pantheon's Debating Society paid an admission of 12 1/2¢ in order to "comfort the wretched." Ministers of the city's numerous churches frequently preached charity sermons and solicited contributions of money, food, and even rags for the inhabitants of the city's almshouse to use as bandages. Such campaigns, however, achieved minimal success and usually funneled their paltry earnings into the city's fund for wintertime relief. Other organizations served the poor year-round, particularly the several charitable schools for orphans. Two women's groups, the Aimwell Society and the Female Humane Association (FHA), focused their benevolence on widows and children. Comprised largely of upscale Quaker

women, the Aimwell Society made direct payments of one or two dollars a season to poor women. One of the society's visitors of the poor, Sarah Barling, provided $1 to a mother with child, and a pair of stockings worth 69¢ to another poor woman. Mrs. McPherson and Mrs. Fearson combined their allotments to provide $3 to a woman with 6 children, "her husband being helpless and speechless by the palsy." The Female Humane Association was one of the Baltimore's older charity organizations. Founded in 1798 to run a charity school for girls, the group soon oversaw direct relief to indigent families. During the winter of 1811, they informed the mayor of their "willing[ness], as heretofore, to visit the sick and supply those whom they consider as proper objects with tea, sugar, cloathing &c." However, the FHA asserted its prerogative "to discriminate, and to apportion their charity as they find them more or less worthy." Intent on distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving poor, groups such as the FHA could scarcely aid all those in need of wintertime relief. Moreover, many poor families resented the moralizing visitors who invariably accompanied FHA aid. Rather than bear such degrading intrusions, Baltimore's poor sought help with fewer strings attached.[18]

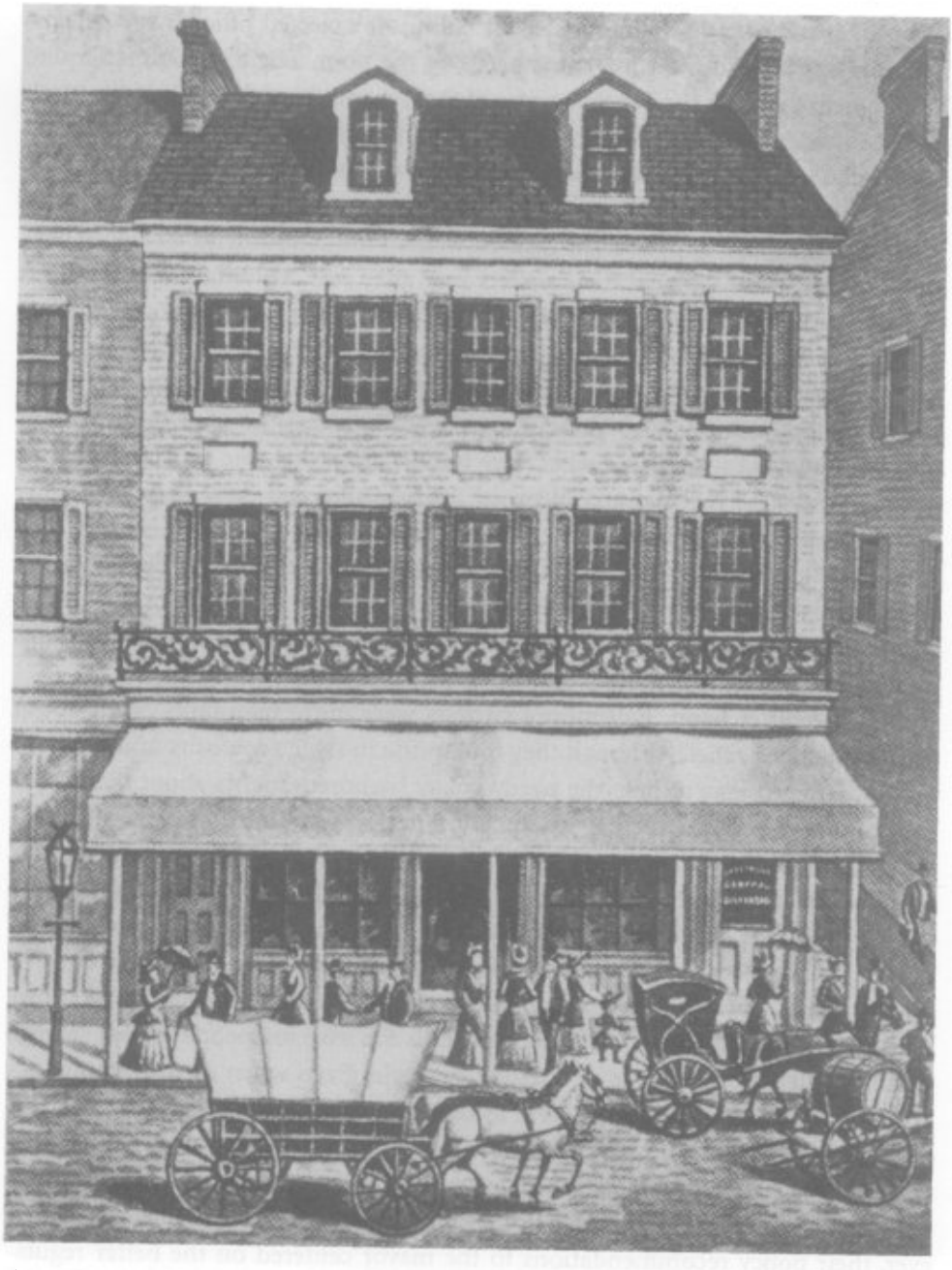
Poor people who became sick in the winter months could at least count on seeing a doctor at the Baltimore General Dispensary. Founded in the aftermath of the city's yellow fever epidemic of 1800, the dispensary employed an apothecary and several physicians to treat "every case . . . whether acute, chronic, surgical, or obstetrical." Funding came from private benefactors who recognized their dependence on a healthy workforce. One supporter observed, "The poor are numerous—many of them must be sick, and when sick, they cannot perform those offices for the rich, or the easy, without which they cannot experience the enjoyments of life." Operating on an annual budget of nearly $2,000, the dispensary admitted 1,122 patients between May 1804 and June 1805 and its doctors discharged 90 percent of those clients in good health. Although a number of patients arrived in the winter months complaining of flu symptoms, the dispensary made no special allowances for the wintertime needs of the poor. When Mary Newton of Primrose Alley arrived at the dispensary in December 1804, she exhibited "severe chills, succeeded by pain in all her limbs." But when she refused to take an emetic, the consulting physician scribbled in the casebook that "Mary Newton's disease seems to consist in wretched poverty more than anything else."[19]

The wintertime option of last resort was the city's almshouse. Only the most desperate sought shelter at the institution, located on the city's northwest outskirts (present day Madison Street and Martin Luther King Boulevard). The 1803 city directory offered the kindest reference to the Almshouse, noting that its "meadows, gardens, and fruit trees, &c., exhibit a most beautiful rural scene."[20] But inside the walls the disabled, elderly, and sick mingled with petty criminals and the insane. A visitor described overcrowded conditions and the typical "victim of misfortune and disease stretched out on a dirty sack half-filled with oak leaves,

with no other covering than a filthy rug. The coarsest beef, absolutely indigestible . . . generally remains untouched at the bedside of the patient until it becomes mouldy and loathsome." Healthy inmates often labored picking oakum or building coffins. Under some administrators, they wore uniforms bearing a large crimson patch with the initials of the Baltimore Poorhouse.[21] Few chose to endure such degradation and regimentation, and most inmates either died or fled within a few weeks of arriving. Such unappealing conditions suppressed almshouse admissions during cold weather. Only a quarter (27.8 percent) of those admitted in 1800 arrived during December, January, and February. Almshouse admissions were fairly constant year round, but a jump in discharges every March suggests that some people did winter in the institution. Nonetheless, for the vast number of Baltimore's laborers affected by seasonal unemployment, the almshouse held little appeal.[22]

One reason Baltimore's poor managed to avoid the almshouse during winter rests in the fact that the municipal government offered emergency out-relief in the form of clothing, firewood, and food. Such efforts were only partially public, insofar as private citizens provided most of the resources. City officials on the Board of Health oversaw the poor for most of the year, but their funds invariably fell short by the return of cold weather. Occasionally, the City Council augmented their funding, but more often than not, the mayor called for citizens to contribute both cash and supplies for the needy. His office served as the clearinghouse for collections, and he appointed private citizens to orchestrate the distribution. Such efforts attested to the blurry lines between the public and private sectors, as well as to the strong spirit of communal responsibility among the city's elite. But because wintertime relief functioned in the nebulous space between private charity and governmental responsibility, it constituted something extraordinary (despite occurring nearly every year).

It is difficult to gauge how many of Baltimore's residents needed emergency relief to survive the winter. The records of the official committees are rare and incomplete. Newspaper commentators provided estimates, but made no pretense of accuracy. Private charities may have relieved some portion of the needy outside the city government's program. Moreover, many of the poor may have used strategies that are lost to historians, such as sharing shelter with other families or cooking communally to save fuel. Still, estimates suggest that a significant number of people received wintertime relief. The final report from 1805 listed "near 800 families and 2,210 poor persons," although that tally excluded returns from two of the city's working-class wards. Five years later, the official count totaled 1,113 families. If that figure translates to 4,500 individuals, then 10 percent of the city's population received aid in 1810. During the unusually cold winter in 1817, between 5,000 and 7,000 individuals received food or fuel—and more went unserved. Perhaps 12 to 15 percent of the city took public charity that year. These figures do not reveal that every wage-earner in Baltimore suffered perilously when



"First Home of the Baltimore General Dispensary, 1801–1803, No. 127 Baltimore Street." (Herbert C. Baxley, A History of the Baltimore General Dispensary *[Baltimore: Baltimore General Dispensary Foundation, 1963].)*

cold weather stalled the economy. But they do suggest that almost every wage-earner in the city knew someone else who did.[23]

In an era when municipal governments were concerned mostly with the regu-

lation of markets and grading of streets, Baltimore's elected officials proved surprisingly attentive to the wintertime needs of the poor. The City Council found $500 to help the poor survive the winter of 1800, earmarking the bulk of the funds to assist residents of the working-class neighborhoods, Old Town and Fells Point. In winter 1808, the city provided a committee of citizens with $1,500 "to be by them expended in the most oeconomical manner for the relief of such poor objects as to them shall appear in the greatest want of the common necessities of life," and private citizens opened their wallets year after year. Voluntary subscriptions in 1804 yielded over $2,500 and the following winter they raised twice as much.[24] As Mayor Edward Johnson observed a few years later, "in severe weather it is easy to excite the sympathetic feelings of the benevolent Citizens of Baltimore and raise by way of contributions such sums of money as the necessities of the moment call for." The rituals of wintertime relief were important to the civic boosters, eager to show that upstart Baltimore could rival Philadelphia and New York in significance. Newspapers praised the "well-known liberality of the good people of this city."[25] Politicians also saw poor relief as a vehicle to re-election. A broadside for Mayor Thorowgood Smith implored voters to "Recollect his conduct during the hard winter three years since, when several HUNDREDS of poor received cloathings at the City Council Chamber."[26]

On the other hand, Baltimore's citizens were more than ambivalent about wintertime poor relief. Although they took pride in their generosity and repeated Biblical admonitions to help the needy, many harbored doubts about the people they sought to help. As the city's population nearly quintupled between 1790 and 1820, newcomers and strangers increasingly filled the ranks of the poor. Community leaders could perhaps justifiably speak of the indigent as an unfamiliar and faceless mass, yet employers, landlords, and benefactors interacted with working people on a daily basis and surely witnessed the difficulties wage-earners faced in staying afloat. Overall, awareness of the complexities of that struggle rarely translated into public discourse. The frequent calls for working people to use savings during winter months serve as a telling example. Even when commentators acknowledged seasonal unemployment as the root cause, suspicion of the poor was seldom far behind. In 1810, a City Council committee reported that the "inclemencies of the season and the consequent remission in the demand for Labour deprives [the poor] of all the means of subsistence during its continuance." However, their policy recommendations to the mayor centered on the better regulation of tippling-houses, which caused "incautious labourers to expend in pernicious drink that surplus which in seasons of prosperity remained after giving merely food to their families." Drawing a comparison to the industrious habits of the city's entrepreneurs, writers in the city's newspapers ascribed a laziness and lack of foresight to working people. Although the wealthy scurried to raise funds, the poor appeared happy to stand by idle until food and fuel were ready. Reform-

ers claimed that such aid only encouraged dependence and debauchery. Even some participants in the public relief effort expressed skepticism. Distributing food at their stores in 1804, merchants Jesse Hollingsworth and Peter Hoffman required "all applicants to produce a certificate, signed by two respectable persons, signifying their situation and necessities."[27]

Assuaging their own doubts, donors reminded themselves that their charity helped the truly needy. They conjured up archetypal images of the deserving: widows, the elderly, and children. One newspaper writer observed that "women left with children and without husbands to support them, and old men, both destitute and helpless, are the objects which have recently claimed our compassionate attention." An 1807 relief plea recalled the Revolutionary War, invoking "many an unfortunate woman, widowed by the calls of our country." Although commentators and elected officials astutely recognized that seasonal unemployment hit able-bodied men and women "in the habit of supporting themselves and families by their labor," they preferred to envision the needy as decrepit, dependent, and docile.[28]

Those critical of the wintertime poor relief offered a stock character in return—the sturdy beggar. Having heard about Baltimore's generous wintertime charity, this indolent slacker set out from a distant home to the city, where easy living did not require hard labor. Once in the city, the degenerate joined the local poor in "the general scramble which is observable among the most clamorous and undeserving applicants [for relief]." Baltimore's problem was Baltimore's benevolence. By offering charity without demanding labor, wintertime relief programs "encouraged idleness" and necessitated the same large expenditures year after year. Not only did many residents resent the imposition of the annual calls for donations, they feared that almsgiving attracted undesirables to the city. In 1802, the city's Grand Jury declared "a serious Evil the great number of Vagrants of both sexes with which this city is and for sometime past hath been infested." Although they did not specify poor relief as the cause, they suggested the need for new institutional solutions to slow the growth of urban begging.[29]

As emergency wintertime relief became an annual ritual, critical voices grew louder. Intent on minimizing municipal expenses and eliminating "abusers of charity" from the public rolls, commentators and elected officials increasingly cast the problem of seasonal unemployment in moral terms. The public had a moral responsibility to help widows, children, and the elderly, but an equal obligation not to aid those who might better help themselves. To provide aid to the able-bodied sapped those people of their strength, imperiled their sense of personal responsibility, and insulted the ethic of industriousness at the heart of Baltimore's commercial culture. "Indiscriminate almsgiving," as many called the city's winter relief efforts, not only encouraged begging, but allowed the idle to spend their days gambling and drinking with little fear of the consequences. Indeed, public

morality hinged on the better regulation of poor relief, with the implication that the entire range of social ills associated with urban growth boiled down to a flaw in the welfare system. At the same time, moral shortcomings purportedly made the poor more susceptible to displacement during the winter months.[30]

This critique of poor relief competed with more entrenched discourses that favored the status quo. Baltimore's religious leaders preached charity, and newspaper correspondents repeated the obligation to help the poor. Contributing to wintertime relief remained "the best way of testifying our love for that God, who loved us first," proclaimed one supporter. Nor was there a question of whether the city government should provide relief. Public responsibility for the poor was a long-standing precedent in the Anglo-American world, and no one in Baltimore suggested that this obligation should devolve upon voluntary organizations. Yet the opponents of wintertime relief and the advocates of public charity did share a common ground, the desire to see a "permanent solution" to the problem of seasonal unemployment.

A Modest Proposal

For twenty-five winters, Baltimore flirted with building a novel institution called the School of Industry (alternatively, the House of Industry). Here, charity and labor converged, as the poor could find work during the winter months inside the institution's walls. The project promised to be self-supporting, to improve public morals, and to help the poor help themselves. The school embodied the ambivalence that had long-characterized Baltimore's poor relief. It solved seasonal unemployment by guaranteeing wintertime wages, but also remained suspicious enough of the poor to institutionalize them on a penal model. Combining the best aspects of charitable philanthropy with the worst elements of social control, its "tough-love" philosophy gained the support of the city's mayor, ministers, and merchants.[31]

Advocacy for the School of Industry began in 1804, in the midst of the mayor's call for emergency relief. Donors had already raised $2,500 and distributed food and wood at various warehouses around the city. Still, those in need remained numerous. Rather than solicit additional funds, leaders of the wintertime relief effort met at Bryden's Inn to "adopt measures for a permanent establishment to teach the idle industry, to supply the pressing wants of suffering humanity, and prevent the great evil of street begging." Editorialists on the pages of the *Federal Gazette* had provided the impetus by depicting the city overrun with beggars. One writer estimated that "upwards of *one thousand idle persons*, who possess ability (if their exertions were properly directed) to maintain themselves *comfortably*, may be found harbored in the various haunts of wretched poverty, drunkenness and debauchery, which are at this time concealed from view in this city." If their labor could be harnessed in a workhouse, "then not only will the helpless receive constant support with much less expense than the present sys-

tem is attended with, but what is of more importance, the commission of crimes will be prevented."[32]

This is the point at which "Count Rumford" became a household name in Baltimore. Advocates boasted that the Bavarian experiment supported itself, bettered public morals, and diminished crime. Support for these claims most likely came from Rumford himself, in such tracts as *Of the Fundamental Principles on which General Establishments for the Relief of the Poor May Be Formed in All Countries*. Circulation records from the Baltimore Library Company show that *Rumford's Works* had collected little dust since its acquisition in 1798. When public clamoring for "a permanent establishment" reached its zenith in February 1804, Mayor Thorowgood Smith appointed an investigatory committee. No sooner had that charge been given than committee member Reverend Dr. Elijah Rattoone, associate rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, signed Rumford out of the library. The Count became required reading among the city's policy-makers, who would borrow liberally from him in the coming months.[33]

A former professor of languages at New York's Columbia College, Rattoone labored alongside Reverend Joseph Bend, leader of the city's Episcopalian community and chair of the School of Industry committee. Bend participated in a variety of local charity programs, and served as the secretary of the board of managers of the General Dispensary. Some of the city's leading men served on this committee, including James Priestly, principal of the prestigious Baltimore Academy; Samuel Sterrett, president of the Union Insurance Company; and Isaac Burneston, head of a successful trading operation. James A. Buchanan and Andrew Ellicott Jr., scions of two of Baltimore's most powerful families, also worked with this group. The leadership reflected the religious diversity of the city. In addition to the Quaker Ellicott, the Presbyterian Buchanan, and the Episcopalians Bend and Rattoone, the city's most prominent Jewish resident, Solomon Etting, filled out the roster. As with most of Baltimore's charities, the effort to end begging and seasonal aid demonstrated remarkable interdenominational cooperation.[34]

The committee read Rumford closely as they worked over the spring and summer of 1804. The count had warned that "to prevent the bad impressions which are sometimes made by names which have become odious, instead of calling it a workhouse, it might be called 'A School of Industry.'" Not only did they adopt Rumford's gentler name, the founders of Baltimore's School of Industry followed his suggestions to place upright religious leaders at the head of the project, to manage the institution under a centralized committee of unpaid civic leaders, and to rely on voluntary subscriptions for funding. Rumford had also noted that establishments for the poor hinged upon community support and advised their promoters to issue a convincing public proposal before commencing a project. In August 1804, the city papers carried a lengthy manifesto outlining "A Plan for Establishing a School of Industry, with a view of bettering the condition of the poor and affording them permanent employment."[35]

In penning this report, Bend, Rattoone, and Burneston reflected the tensions within the broader debate on poor relief. Their goal of creating jobs commingled with their desire to reprogram the poor. Although their plan sought to solve seasonal unemployment, their rhetoric focused less on displaced workers and more on devious beggars. Touted benefits such as cutting municipal expenses and ending the annual need for donations paled in comparison with the advantages of reducing vagrancy and vice. The appeal played to public fears of the idle, decrying "the impositions practised by common beggars." Many practitioners of this "species of fraud" were of local origin, while others came great distances, "attracted by the universally acknowledged benevolence of the citizens of Baltimore." The authors carried their audience into the lives of these abusers of charity as witnesses to "them shivering over a few expiring embers, or seeking a temporary warmth from swallowing that liquid fire they have purchased with your alms." Their hungry infants' tears were met "with oaths and lamentations," while older children were "instructed in the arts of deception and sent forth to impose on your humanity." By linking charity to labor, the School of Industry would discourage the undeserving and "banish in due time from the streets of your city, mendicants of every description."

The advocates of the School of Industry did not wholly neglect the language of benevolence. The appeal promised that the institution would "relieve real distress" and promote "virtue and religion." But the philanthropic agenda centered on providing the poor with the ability to help themselves. Donors would "adopt the only effectual means of putting an end to the sufferings of the poor by introducing a spirit of industry among them." The institution was to function, as its name suggested, as a place where the impoverished would study, learn, and internalize the ethos of a competitive, commercial society. The authors of the appeal suggested that the poor owed their predicament to a lapse in their values, rather than to the irregularities of the urban economy. But the appeal also contended that the needy would appreciate such re-education far more than any handout. "By putting it into his power to maintain himself," the school would provide a poor person with "infinitely more delight . . . than by supporting him in idleness and laying him under a load of favors, which he can never in the smallest degree requite." Having already criticized the poor for their sense of entitlement, the school's advocates now implied that the poor resented the social and psychological burdens of charity.

Rhetoric aside, the plan for the School of Industry offered a straight-forward solution to seasonal unemployment. By collecting raw materials, providing workshops and tools, and orchestrating the marketing of finished products, the management would give the unemployed a warm place to spend their days working, earning wages, and potentially receiving bonuses for diligent labor. Although the institution intended to deduct the costs of food, fuel, and materials from workers' wages, Count Rumford's novel methods of soup preparation and

indoor heating promised to keep those charges to a minimum. The plan did not specify the type of work laborers would perform and only vaguely proposed "to begin with those kinds of employments which are the most simple and practicable, and gradually to introduce others, till if possible the poor of every description who want employment may find it at the School of Industry." Rumford's Munich workhouse featured master artisans serving as tutors for the unskilled, while several of the new penitentiaries in the United States provided models of diversified institutional labor. In fact, the advocates of the school optimistically based their expectation of self-sufficiency on penitentiaries erected in other states, where inmates labored to recoup the costs of their incarceration.[36]

As its promoters explained, the School of Industry was to function as a haven for poor laborers. Advocates of indoor relief elsewhere aimed to make the facilities as uninviting as possible in order to discourage dependence. Following Rumford's example, however, the school offered incentives to the poor. The proposed campus featured classrooms, workshops, a dormitory, health clinic, chapel, library, and dining hall. Individual workers could lodge at the school, while long-term plans called for the construction of "small and comfortable tenements" for laborers with families. During the workday, poor parents would not have to worry about their children as the school would provide some form of baby-sitting. Older children would work, while nurses watched over infants. The plan encouraged those who normally labored at home "to bring their own work" to the school. Congregating there, workers could halve the costs of heating their own apartments. Economical for the poor, this strategy also promised to reduce the city's annual provision of firewood for needy families. The soup-house also promised savings, by providing "wholesome and palatable" meals "at an expense at least 50 percent cheaper than it would cost in any private family." Moreover, the directors hoped to accumulate food, clothing, and wood during the summer months in order to sell at a discount to workers in winter. The school's plan made no special mention of free people of color, some of Baltimore's most impoverished residents, yet there was little reason to expect the institution to turn them away. The city's almshouse had long accepted African Americans, and pleas for public charity regularly highlighted the plight of "those injured sons of Africa."[37]

As they imagined a worker's utopia, the school's founders conceived a sophisticated program of surveillance and socialization. After all, the institution's charge was to "encourage virtue, order and industry; and discourage vice [and] idleness." Rumford had contended that such a project hinged on gentleness and patience. He had advised that "nothing will tend so powerfully to reform [the poor] as kind usage from the hands of persons they must learn to love and to respect at the same time." Apparently forgetting about the help of the Bavarian army, Rumford declared that "force will not do it," and denounced punitive measures in rehabilitating the poor. Instead, the count and his Baltimore imitators advocated a regime

of coercive kindness. Although a proposed legal ban on almsgiving might anger the poor by leaving them nowhere else to turn, the many amenities offered at the school would numb the poor to the freedoms they had sacrificed to become orderly and "useful" citizens. Once workers had become dependent upon the high wages, warm food, and comfortable facilities, the mere threat of expulsion would bring the recalcitrant into line. In Baltimore, "incorrigibly idle or lazy workers" lost access to the soup-house, and the directors could "devise and inflict such reasonable penalties as may tend to prevent the laborers from coming too late to their work, or absenting themselves from it at their pleasure." At the same time, workers "most conspicuous for their order, sobriety, and tractable behavior" would win rewards. The founders also instituted a religious curriculum. Clergymen of various denominations were to take turns preaching each Sunday. The founders earmarked funds for a library of books of religious instruction. Employees of the school might read such books "at intervals of relaxation." This was the only reference to leisure in the entire plan.[38]

The institution had special designs on poor children, who would be trained "in good habits." The plan enjoined the directors to "use all proper means to induce the parents of poor children to send them to the institution, as soon as they may be capable of earning anything by their labor." Even children too young to work had a place. In Munich, Rumford immobilized toddlers in high chairs on the shop floor and forced them to watch older children spin hemp and flax. Made "jealous of those who were permitted to be more active," these children "cried" for the opportunity to work. "How sweet these tears were to me," opined Rumford, as he recalled freeing these children to join in production activities. Harnessing the labor of Baltimore's poor children would constitute "a real addition to the wealth of the community."[39]

The plan had to play up the institution's money-making potential in order to attract investors. With its elaborate program, the school promised to be quite costly. Purchasing the land alone would consume several thousand dollars. The founders hoped for a grant from the state legislature, but Annapolis was not forthcoming—nor did the municipal government of Baltimore ante up. Relying solely on voluntary subscriptions, the School of Industry stood a long way from being built in late 1804. Just eight months earlier, benevolent citizens had donated an unprecedented $2,500 for emergency relief. Few had additional funds to spare, despite the appealing prospect of finding a "permanent solution" to wintertime need. Still, many of the city's prosperous citizens offered generous support. In Baltimore's wealthy second ward, nearly sixty men took subscriptions totaling over $2,000, however, donors had four years to fulfill pledges ranging from $20 to $120. At that rate, raising the start-up capital would take at least several more winters.[40]

Fittingly, the return of winter defeated the School of Industry. So severe was the winter of 1805 that the institution's directors, incapable of supporting both

efforts, suspended their own fundraising and directed their contributors toward the city's emergency program. Proponents of the school recognized the irony. Winter's pressing demands prevented construction of the only institution capable of nullifying them. The School of Industry was no rival for the winter of 1805, a season that froze the city from mid-December until March. Early in January, Mayor Thorowgood Smith appointed a committee of private citizens to collect money and distribute relief. Some members, such as Baltzer Schæffer and George Warfield, put aside their fundraising duties for the School of Industry to solicit immediate donations. Others borrowed from the school's plan and founded a make-shift soup-house. Hiring a cook, the overseers of the kitchen sought to improve on Rumford's spartan recipes. They called on citizens to contribute "beef, mutton, veal, pork, fish, beans, turnips, peas, potatoes, carrots, cabbages, onions, leeks, celery, parsley, vermicelli, salt, pepper, &c." By spring thaw, donations exceeded $5,000, and the soup-house had delivered 25,000 quarts of soup and 17,925 loaves of bread to the needy. Moreover, generous women provided coats to warm nearly 350 of their imperiled sisters.

Although the winter of 1805 dramatically highlighted the problem of seasonal unemployment, it consumed the city's resources for a structural solution. The winter also drained public resolve. No pronouncement declared the School of Industry dead, disbanded the directors, or repudiated the plans, yet the urgency of the project withered in the wake of several milder winters. Little shored up community support as the school had never advanced beyond the planning phase. No plot of land marked "Future Home of the School of Industry" sustained the public's imagination. Charity pleas still called attention to those displaced in cold weather, but the school proved "only an abortive wish on the part of the citizens to do good," in the words of a last-gasp fundraising effort.[41]

A Second Try

Although the School of Industry disappeared as a public issue, it remained alluring to city officials intent on trimming municipal expenditures. After 1806, the burden of helping the seasonally unemployed fell increasingly on the city government. Ad-hoc citizens' committees still collected donations from Baltimore's more prosperous residents, but without the urgency brought on by the emergency conditions of previous winters. As the initiative, oversight, and funding for relief now came almost exclusively from City Hall, wintertime welfare swallowed a larger proportion of the city's budget. In 1808, the city made its first separate budgetary appropriation for poor relief, $1,500, followed by $1,000 in 1809. The new mayor, Edward Johnson, worried that the poor had become a drain on the city. Institutional arrangements such as the School of Industry held out that elusive promise of a self-supporting poor.[42]

Just forty-two when he became mayor in 1809, Edward Johnson began his

public career in close contact with the city's poor. He had served as an almshouse physician and a justice of the orphan's court. These experiences provided Johnson with a complex understanding of the plight of the poor. In this man resided all the tensions characterizing the first effort to found the School of Industry in 1804. Johnson never suggested that the public should abdicate responsibility for the poor, nor that poverty was exclusively a function of moral shortcoming. He understood seasonal unemployment to be the cause of most people's distress. Yet his rhetoric focused on crime and disorder among the poor. His policies combined governmental thrift with a "law and order" sensibility. Pursuing the strict enforcement of liquor laws, a tough vagrancy statute from Annapolis, and funding for a revivified "House of Industry," Johnson made the distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor the centerpiece of public policy.[43]

Its population topping 46,000 in 1810, Baltimore had begun to take on the character of the nineteenth-century city, complete with neighborhoods segregated by class, rising street crime, and visible pockets of destitution. Steady immigration created a city of strangers and undermined community policing of morals. The government responded to these changes by instituting more effective modes of watching and lighting the city, even as modern policing remained decades away. Many commentators worried that the city had become overrun with tippling shops, gambling dens, and bawdy-houses. These establishments attracted a dangerous clientele who mocked propriety, shunned responsibility, and abused charity when their fortunes ebbed.[44] In 1811, Mayor Johnson linked the decline in public morality to "the great Increase in Idle and wandering Poor who have of late infested our City." The City Council made an additional connection, blaming indiscriminate poor relief for the arrival of undesirable migrants. The Council demanded relief from the "the great number of vagrants and idle and disorderly poor who come to Baltimore every fall and winter from other counties of this state and also from other states of the Union." The Mayor and Council agreed on a course of action that would eliminate immoral establishments, regulate the recipients of charity, and crackdown on the jobless.[45]

Vagrancy laws were old tools for controlling disorderly populations, and seventeenth-century English laws pertaining to "masterless men" survived the American Revolution nearly intact. Baltimore's 1804 vagrancy law conveyed an archaic flavor in its prohibition on jugglers and fortune-tellers (in addition to those who had no visible means of employment, who lodged in open air, and any woman "reputed to be a prostitute"). That law emerged in the wake of the winter of 1804, when alarmist fears of sturdy beggars animated public discussion of poor relief. Baltimore's assemblymen had guided the statute through the legislature, stipulating a two-month term in the almshouse for those found guilty of vagrancy. However, lax constables and the almshouse's permeable walls rendered the law ineffective. At Mayor Johnson's request, the legislature revived the statute in 1812.

Mayor Edward Johnson (1767–1829), former almshouse physician and justice of the Orphan's Court, sought to reform Baltimore's public welfare system. (Coyle, Mayors of Baltimore.*)*

This time, the law had teeth, allowing the mayor himself to act as a justice of the criminal court and issue arrest warrants and hear cases. The chief justice of the Criminal Court received a $600 pay-raise to make vagrancy convictions a priority. Moreover, the guilty now faced one year of hard-labor in the dreaded Maryland State Penitentiary. Built in 1809 on the outskirts of Baltimore, the penitentiary housed notorious criminals behind its castle-like walls. Mayor Johnson called the statute "very efficient" and promised that with "due vigilance we shall probably be able to get rid of the many Pick-Pockets and other Vagabonds, who have for some time past infested our city."[46]

The records of the Maryland Penitentiary reflect the strident enforcement of this law. Between 1812 and 1819, 186 men and women arrested on vagrancy charges spent a year in the institution. The typical convicted vagrant was a white woman in her late twenties who had been born in Maryland, but not in the city of Baltimore. Although the 1811 statute scrapped language targeting prostitutes, women comprised 75 percent of those convicted. Most women who entered the prison claimed housework or spinning as their occupation, although some, such as the Irish-born Mary Diviney, offered no occupation at all. Inside the walls, prison officials assigned Diviney to the spinning room to labor with most other female inmates. Joseph Montgomery, 35, had worked in the city as a "ragman," before his arrest and he picked oakum while captive. Rebecca Smith had arrived in Baltimore from the Eastern Shore when she was eighteen. It seems likely that Smith

worked in the city for several years before falling into destitution and trouble with the law. Five years after her arrival in the city, the fair-haired, fair-complexioned, 5'4" Smith served a year in the penitentiary for vagrancy. Released after a year of compulsory spinning, Smith never seemed to regain footing. Nearly a decade later, she resurfaced in the Baltimore Almshouse, suffering from "an injury received whilst drunk."[47] Interestingly, people such as Rebecca Smith may have initially run afoul of the vagrancy law by virtue of their self-reliance. Almshouse trustee Thomas W. Griffith explained in 1819 that most vagrants were "not, as is generally believed, entirely indolent and corrupt, but often a better sort of poor, whose pride, or mistaken notions of charity, prevents them from applying for admittance to the almshouse, or to be put on the pension [out-relief] lists."[48]

In addition to enforcing a strict vagrancy law, Mayor Johnson and his allies sought to crack down on alcohol abuse. Like many other reformers, they chalked up poverty to widespread intemperance. Taking seasonal unemployment as a given, the City Council blamed alcohol for the annual travails of workers. Most criminal were the tippling houses, where laborers spent wages on alcohol, rather than putting them aside for leaner times. Johnson and the council called on the courts to enforce stricter standards in granting licenses to retail liquor. They also appointed officials to survey the city's drinking establishments and suggest effective regulations, but studies made no dent in the number of illicit taverns. In the coming years, reformers, evangelists, politicians, and grand juries would identify tippling houses as the root cause of all social disorder, particularly poverty.[49]

Mayor Edward Johnson, too astute to consider increased policing a substitute for a welfare policy, realized that the disappearance of work caused poor people to suffer each winter. Creating work promised to alleviate their misery. He noted that "many who solicit our charity are in the full enjoyment of health and strength and plead as their only excuse *want* of employment." A jobs program would meet their needs and have the advantage of ending the easy charity that attracted the lazy to the city. In February 1810, Johnson, particularly dissatisfied with emergency wintertime relief, called it "partial, oppressive, and inadequate to the extent of our wishes." A permanent establishment demanding "labour in return for charity bestowed" would channel the work of the seasonally unemployed into the maintenance of chronically dependent sick or elderly. Although the City Council worried that the municipal charter granted no authority to address seasonal unemployment, Johnson had grandiose plans to erect Rumford's workhouse in Baltimore.[50]

The mayor seemed unconcerned that the project had failed just a few years earlier. If there was a lesson to learn from the first attempt, it was that the government needed to spearhead an undertaking of such magnitude. This time, he would appoint a committee of trustees, seek incorporated status from the state legislature, and secure a dependable fundraising apparatus. Recruiting officials for the

re-named House of Industry in February 1812, Mayor Johnson sought men with even more prominence than those who had organized the first School of Industry. Revolutionary War veteran and Federalist senator from the 1790s, John Eager Howard lent his name to the project. So too did prominent philanthropists Elias Ellicott and Elisha Tyson, merchants James Purviance and John Oliver, and banking notables James H. McCulloch and James A. Buchanan. About one-quarter had been involved in the failed School of Industry, and once again organizers reached across religious denominations. One key difference was that more trustees of the new House of Industry held governmental and judicial office. James Biays and Richard Key Heath served as overseers of the almshouse for the Levy Court. Others, such as Baltzer Schæffer and Luke Tiernan had long served on the City Council. Magistrate George Warner declined the appointment, but assured the mayor that only a House of Industry would "relieve the citizens of Baltimore from the repeated calls for Charitable Donations . . . which hitherto I fear have tended more to encourage Indolence rather than industry."[51]

Whereas the failed School of Industry had relied on benevolent donations, the new institution appealed to the public's self-interest with an enticing method of raising capital, a lottery. Organizations such as the Impartial Free School and Saint Paul's Parish had made lotteries commonplace for more than a decade. A winning ticket might return a hefty prize of $20,000. Enough people played lotteries to keep several ticket brokers in business. Not everyone condoned state-sanctioned gambling, largely for the same reasons many objected to indiscriminate almsgiving—both promised the poor comfortable living without labor. Mayor Johnson assuaged their fears by observing that if the House of Industry could put an end to the yearly relief cycle, "the very objectionable mode of raising money by lottery may be justified." However, it was not until 1817 that the General Assembly approved the lottery, and it would take several more years to appoint managers, sell tickets, and hold the drawing. But chronic delays did not faze optimists like Johnson, who expected the lottery to net $30,000. With that sum, he had good reason to envision a permanent solution to seasonal unemployment.[52]

Johnson also found encouragement in other experiments that put the poor to work. For example, the Aimwell Society had distributed out-work as a way of helping impoverished women survive winters in 1809, 1810, and 1811. Out-work had been a promising component of the failed School of Industry's program as it offered wages to the poor and a profit to the institution. The Aimwell Society shared those goals and distributed 470 pounds of flax to some fifty-eight indigent women. Buying back finished cloth from the women for $174, the society's managers resold the material in shops around the city for over $200. Their $25 profit purchased wood and clothing for additional families. Although the Aimwell program scarcely provided poor women with more than a few dollars each winter, it did illustrate that labor-based charity could be self-supporting. At the same time,

the Maryland Penitentiary made a good case for institutional labor. Its bustling workshops of cordwainers and weavers turned out a profit and subsidized the prison's operating expenses. Visitors praised the quality of the goods produced within the walls and hoped that inmates could use the trade-skills they learned inside to earn a legitimate living when freed. Lastly, public officials had salvaged two other components of the failed School of Industry. An efficient Rumford soup kitchen served the needy through several winters and the City Council made provisions to purchase firewood cheaply in the summer months to sell at cost to the poor when colder weather arrived.[53]

Despite Mayor Johnson's enthusiasm, the House of Industry project made little headway during his nine years in office. The Napoleonic wars diverted public attention, as did the ensuing disruption of trade, a summer of partisan rioting in 1812, and the British attack on the city in 1814. The successful defense of Baltimore and the return of peace and prosperity encouraged optimistic reformers, but it took an unusually frigid winter to jump-start the effort. Whereas the winter of 1805 had sunk the School of Industry, the trials of February 1817 brought the seasonal suffering of the poor back into the public eye and convinced many of the need for a "permanent solution." The new mayor, George Stiles, organized an emergency relief program and generous citizens donated over $6,500. But with winter showing no signs of abating and many remaining without food or fuel, Stiles feared that "little visible or permanent good" had come from his work. Worse, "the most profligate, abandoned, and unworthy objects" had imposed on the public's benevolence, as they always did when the city offered indiscriminate aid "on the spur and moment of the occasion." Only a House of Industry "would relieve the citizens from the continued calls and importunities of the street beggar." The visionary workhouse garnered unprecedented support in the city's newspapers and sales of the lottery tickets skyrocketed.[54]

Support for the House of Industry grew at the same time that public sympathy for the poor ebbed. Mayor Stiles and his predecessor, Edward Johnson, had helped to alter the tone of public discourse. Accentuating vagrancy, alcoholism, and social disorder, they obscured the connection between an irregular urban economy and poverty. Notions of benevolent obligation persisted, but the scales had tipped toward penal sanction. In one breath, politicians and newspaper correspondents blamed the disappearance of work and in the next several, they faulted intemperate workers. Images of the desperate orphan stood next to those of the lazy beggar. As during the 1804–1805 initiative, reformers wavered between the duty of charity and a suspicion of the poor. Once again, the House of Industry appealed to both benevolent and punitive impulses. Its program assumed that the poor were largely responsible for their own plight, but also held out the possibility of rehabilitation. Some advocates valued the institution for offering jobs to the unemployed. "Furnish the poor with work," implored BENEVOLUS, "and you

furnish them with everything." Many others envisioned the institution as a safeguard against "idleness and dissipation, *the true causes of the present* [wintertime] *distress*." Mayor Stiles leaned toward this second position, attributing 9 of 10 cases of seasonal misery to "improper conduct on the part of the sufferers themselves." Although the newspapers still contained an occasional sympathetic plea, most public discourse adopted this harsher tone toward the needy. Advocacy for the workhouse reflected more hostility than charity. Whereas the earlier School of Industry had ultimately aspired to reintegrate the poor into the broader community, the proposed House of Industry looked to isolate a dangerous and disorderly class from the rest of society.[55]

No longer touting the House of Industry as a workers' sanctuary, its champions now celebrated the institution's capacity to penalize and discourage the needy. The editors of the *Baltimore American* endorsed this new conception of the House of Industry because the "support of a numerous poor list has become a daily and grievous tax on the industrious part of our citizens." The actual poor tax had not grown significantly in the 1810s, but the hope of making the poor self-supporting remained appealing. Fiscal concerns paled next to social ones. The *American* editorial hoped the House of Industry would serve "the double purpose of being an asylum for the really poor and afflicted, and as a place of due punishment of those men, who spend their time and their money in tippling houses, and neglect their families, relying on the generosity of the inhabitants to support them in winter." The *American* editors demanded a policy to "separate the sheep from the goats, the idler, the drunkard, and the spend-thrift from those whom Providence afflicts with sickness and poverty, and unavoidable distress." Other writers heaped approbation upon the poor, warning that "they must either work or want—but they will not be permitted to become burthens on society, and will be forced either to labor in the Work-House, or be banished the country."[56] The truism that indiscriminate almsgiving caused begging gained currency in repetition.

Indeed, the events of winter 1817 seemed to offer proof, as the "unworthy" helped to consume an unprecedented $10,000 of public charity by March's thaw. Baltimore's citizens and voluntary associations had given quite generously, despite the mayor's misgivings. No one advocated leaving the needy to perish in the record cold, but most acknowledged the need for a "permanent solution." One commentator noted that he would "most cheerfully give at once ten times as much as I now give annually to relieve the poor" in order to build a House of Industry.[57] The Trustees began working almost immediately on procuring a lot, but finding the right site and negotiating a lease consumed several years. In 1818, after viewing properties in every corner of town, and even one downtown, they settled on a lot east of Jones' Falls. But their bid failed and forward-progress ground to a halt. Over the next several years, the trustees continued to meet, consulting with such other groups as the Economical Soup and Bread Society. Mayor John Montgom-

ery, whose long career in public service included a stint in Congress and a term as Maryland's Attorney General, offered encouragement in 1820 and 1821, but to no avail.[58] It was not until Edward Johnson returned to the mayor's office in 1822 that the House of Industry had its last hurrah. But by that time, dire economic circumstances and new conceptualizations of poverty and unemployment doomed the institution to final failure.

One Last Chance

Following the costly winter of 1817, public sentiment toward the poor grew colder. As not to encourage begging, charity organizations instituted new safeguards to insure that only the "necessitous and deserving" received aid. Each week, the Fell's Point Humane Society deployed investigators to the homes of its clients. When interviews with neighbors yielded evidence of "gross immorality or attempts to impose," the visitors could immediately delete the offender from the relief list.[59] Other reformers dismissed all charity as counterproductive. By one critical account, free wintertime soup promoted drunkenness "by leaving [working] people's earnings as a surplus capital to be invested in whiskey." The emphasis on moral failure pushed the problem of seasonal unemployment into the background and brought intemperance to the foreground. If alcohol accounted for the misery of the poor, then cold weather did not warrant special programs. Intemperance was a year-round problem. Commentators imagined typical wintertime sufferers as those "who after the idleness and dissipation of summer, imagine that they have only to complain and cast themselves on the honest earnings of the sober, industrious and economical portion of our citizens." The wintertime disappearance of work made no difference in their debauched lives.[60]

At the extreme, the upstart Society for the Prevention of Pauperism (SPP) sought to sever the issues of labor and poverty from one another. Founded in 1820 several years after its sister organization in New York, the SPP scoured the city to count the number of beggars, prostitutes, Sabbath-breakers, and gamblers, as well as grog-shops, churches, and lottery offices. After investigating, they hoped to employ "that kind of moral police . . . more formidable than law" to halt Baltimore's descent into depravity. Called worse than the Spanish Inquisition by its critics, the SPP drew a distinction between relieving the poor and preventing pauperism. Providing jobs constituted the former but not the latter. "It is first necessary to fit the poor for employment," read one SPP pamphlet in defense of moral stewardship. A later publication called public works programs as much a "gratuity" as monetary handouts.[61]

Beyond all else, seasonal unemployment lost its hold on public sympathy when joblessness became a year-round phenomenon following the collapse of the city's economy in 1819. Over the next five years, warm weather failed to revive jobs in Baltimore's slop-shops and along its docks. The Panic began with a banking

crisis, as local creditors became skittish about paper money and an embezzlement scandal rocked the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States. At the same time, British traders had flooded the city with cheap imports, while their government had closed off the prosperous West Indies trade, bringing some of the city's most prestigious merchants into bankruptcy. The ensuing contraction revealed the vulnerability of working people to the market forces over which they exercised no control. Health officials in Fells Point remarked that, "the honest labourer has in a large number been reduced to beggary for want of his usual wages." It was "a deplorable fact," they continued, that "the poor here are now infinitely more destitute than they have ever been known in former years." Editor Hezekiah Niles observed that "most of our manufactories have stopped or are about to stop, and every branch of mechanical industry is reduced from one third to one half of its recent amount." By July, 6,000 men, women, and children were out of work, and Niles counted 10,000 "in steady unemployment" a month later. October showed no improvement, and a correspondent to the *American* in October confirmed that "we have a number of persons who have heretofore supported themselves comfortably by their own industry, and are now in a most destitute situation, because employment cannot be had."[62]

Although the Panic of 1819 wreaked havoc throughout the nation, at least other cities managed to avoid a concurrent outbreak of yellow fever. But in August 1819, the first evidence of an epidemic appeared in Fells Point, the waterfront neighborhood staggering from the economic downturn. Within the next two months, 350 people died from painful internal bleeding and the dreaded black vomit. While the wealthy fled to the countryside, some 1,000 of the city's poor encamped at a ropewalk on the city's outskirts. Interestingly, these accommodations shared characteristics with the proposed House of Industry, including a diet of soup, an educational curriculum for children, and careful supervision of all adults. For striking her mother, Margaret Watts spent three days in the guardhouse on a diet of bread and water. Officials ejected Henry Lutgar for his drunken, disorderly conduct and profane language. The yellow fever outbreak also reinforced the contempt for the poor that had emerged over the last several years. Public commentators agreed that the disease originated in "putrefying vegetable matter," but impugned the habits of waterfront residents. Dr. Ezra Gillingham warned that the best way to prevent future outbreaks was to regulate "personal conduct." The tippling shops kept the poor in such a state of idleness that "their persons, their houses, their yards are consequently filthy and subject to disease."[63]

Baltimore hobbled into the 1820s, its commercial and manufacturing sectors still stagnant and the government's resources drained. The editor of the *Morning Chronicle* lamented "the collision, and may we add co-operation of so many unfortunate events on the charity of Baltimore." Perhaps rightfully, commentators listed pauperism as both a cause and a symptom of social disorder.[64] In all likeli-

hood, things *had* gotten worse for Baltimore's poor, which in turn drew increased attention from alarmed reformers. In 1823, Hezekiah Niles lamented, "there is more misery and suffering, and a greater amount of privation in Baltimore in one month now, than there used to be in a whole year." He predicted that the number of paupers in 1824 would be three times greater than during the horrendous winter of 1817. Almshouse admissions rates were foreboding on that count, having doubled between 1819 and 1823. The weak economy coincided with the continued arrival of free blacks and Irish immigrants to the city. Their surplus labor drove low wages even lower. For example, the pay-rate for the city's mudmachine workers had fallen to 75¢ per day by 1826, 40 percent lower than a decade earlier. Monthly wages for ordinary seamen had fallen by half since the War of 1812.[65] Other social ills spread through the working-class neighborhoods of Fells Point and Old Town. Even if most poor residents were not the habitual drunkards caricatured in charity reports, the prevalent use of alcohol did play a role in accidental deaths, injuries, and susceptibility to serious diseases such as consumption. Public sanitation could not meet the demands of population growth, the water supply was horribly polluted, and health officials feared outbreaks of small pox, consumption, and typhus.[66] A decade earlier, the poor had gone unnoticed for nine months of the year. Now, they continuously stared the rest of Baltimore in the face, their presence and plight never fully comprehensible in a culture still convinced that pauperism was an Old World relic.[67]

Public officials confronted the social costs of poverty with less zeal than they addressed the financial burden poor relief placed on the city's strapped budget. Still committed to helping the elderly and disabled through winter, the City Council found $1,000 to purchase wood in 1821. But that expense was minimal next to the cost of the almshouse whose trustees requested $27,750 from the city in 1823. Funding for the almshouse did not come from the city's treasury, but rather from a special poor tax of 60¢ per $100 assessable property. Although that rate seems trivial by today's standards, it stood out in an era when the assessments that funded all other city operations amounted to only $2.30 per $100 property. Moreover, the size of the poor tax had crept up from 45¢ the first year it was assessed in 1820 to 75¢ in 1825. According to Hezekiah Niles, poor taxes were "at least four times more onerous . . . not only because of a reduced quantity of money, but for the diminished circulation of what we have, labor not being in request." If citizens did not express their displeasure explicitly, they did elect mayors who pledged to minimize expenses on the poor. John Montgomery, who took office in 1820, sought to add a workhouse for vagrants onto the almshouse facilities. Ironically, that improvement coincided with state approval to build an entirely new almshouse farther from the city at a cost of $100,000. Needless to say, expenditures on the poor did not diminish. Voters returned Edward Johnson to the mayor's office in 1822. It should come as no

surprise that the House of Industry resurfaced as the panacea for Baltimore's poverty.[68]

Although the winter of 1817 had created a ground swell of support for a House of Industry, the plan stalled in the ensuing years of economic contraction. As their unsold inventories gathered dust, supporters from the business community lost enthusiasm for another manufacturing concern. Potential investors had scarce resources to offer. In 1822, the trustees finally purchased a lot—the old Madison Street grounds of the almshouse, left vacant when the institution moved to its new complex at Calverton, just west of the city. This choice contained a foreboding irony in that the new House of Industry could do no better than a castoff of the facility it hoped to make obsolete. By early 1823, when Johnson took office again, the trustees boldly declared that "if the long talked of, and long looked for, House of Industry was ever to be organized, the time has arrived when the experiment should be attempted." Their revised plan stipulated needlework for females and "beating hominy, making mats of rope yarn, [and] picking oakum" for men. Gone was the hope of teaching marketable craft skills to the residents. Operating on the maxim that "none but those who are willing to work shall enjoy any of its benefits," the institution would be a "blessing" to the deserving and a "powerful means of improving the habits of the idle and worthless." Its success hinged on the total elimination of begging. Either magistrates had to make punishment swift and sure, or the citizenry had to make "a solemn agreement" to cease all handouts after a specified day. Entering the House of Industry would become the only alternative to starvation.[69]

In 1823, for one last time, the House of Industry elicited a flash of initial enthusiasm and mustered little sustained support. The lottery had yielded only enough money to purchase the lot, and the need for a supplemental poor tax to raise operating funds obscured the institution's advantages. Once again, the public had little stomach for a costly capital investment, even one that promised long-term savings. More accurately, only capital-intensive projects promising huge profits to business garnered political support. During the 1820s, the city poured what money it had into internal improvements, most notably the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The prospect of rejuvenating Baltimore's commerce held far more appeal than a social experiment for a suspect population. Moreover, additional taxation might serve to discourage business growth in the city. Poor relief administrator Thomas W. Griffith worried that new entrepreneurs "would shun a place where their industry and enterprize would be taxed" to maintain such an institution. To make matters worse, a "monopoly," such as the House of Industry, would affect "the artificial increase in the value or price of labor." Griffith did not expound on his economic theory, but he did introduce a question that had been missing from the debate all along—whether a House of Industry belonged in a city where the marketplace increasingly served as the arbiter of social relations.[70]

The Legacy of the House of Industry

The allure of the House of Industry has been easier to explain than its failure to materialize. Organized political blocs did not lobby for its defeat, nor did the need for a supplemental jobs program disappear in 1820s Baltimore. The multiple demises of the project attested to a powerful inertia within a community renowned for its dynamism. After 1804–1805, public support withered once the urgency of an unusually harsh winter passed. During the 1810s, the municipal government resurrected the plan, hoping to curtail the city's expenses and control disorderly individuals. Yet administrative delays left the institution's advocates scrambling to catch up with a new set of social and economic realities in the early-1820s. Chronic unemployment replaced seasonal displacement as the greatest threat to working-class subsistence. But ironically, as their needs became greater, working people could make fewer claims on public charity.

No longer seen as external or dangerous to the polity, wage-earners now assumed an unexceptional place within it. But once so incorporated, wage-laborers warranted little more than a shrug when work disappeared. Defined as autonomous individuals, they had to bear full responsibility for their unemployment—defined as their own failure as individuals, rather than the fault of some larger force such as the seasonal cycle or the business cycle. Poor relief administrator T.W. Griffith believed that the almshouse should continue to support the truly dependent but that the able-bodied must fend for themselves in the competitive marketplace. Griffith feared that a European-style workhouse was no better suited to the "state of Society" in 1820s Baltimore than European forms of government. Using the watchwords of an older Revolutionary republicanism, Griffith contended that the House of Industry undermined the "spirit of thinking and acting for themselves which has made our people free and independent and should keep them so." But he applied these characteristics to the urban working-class, a group that no republican of an earlier generation would have described as either free or independent. In theory, workers were as free and independent as anyone else, "they might fill their pockets in a few days, by a little industry; sooner perhaps than the man of property would collect as much from his tenants." For that reason alone, they deserved no charitable attention. But more precisely, the House of Industry interfered with the process by which "each depended on his own ingenuity and application."[71]

In a strategy befitting the new burden placed on individual responsibility, reformers focused their attention on children. The public's limited resources, they argued, were best spent saving poor children from the fate of their debauched parents. The adult population had proven itself unredeemable, but hope remained for "the miserable, neglected little objects that now infest your streets," as one charitable writer described Baltimore's impoverished youth. Several former advocates of the House of Industry contended that the institution should be scrapped in favor of schools and orphanages. Whether the House of Industry could accom-

plish its imprecise goals "remains to be a matter of great doubt," wrote one of the institution's trustees to the city council. In contrast, "the education of hitherto neglected children of vicious and deceased parents" offered "incontestable" benefits. "Tis sincerely hoped the funds now in hand for establishing a House of Industry will be appropriated," added another proponent of public education for children. Youth trained "in habits of industry and temperance" lessened the number of needy adults and became "useful and efficient members of society." As the pauper list shrank, the tax roll would grow. Another writer made the same point under the ironic pen-name, RUMFORD. "Touch not, we beseech you, the House of Industry question," he advised. Instead of "offering temporary relief to the distressed," he continued, the public should address "the root and ground of the enormous evil." The number of needy adults would increase so long as their children were "permitted to grow up in the ranks of crime and ignorance." Fortunately, an orphan school with "broad and ample wings may cover all the destitute and needy youth of this city 'as a hen gathereth her chickens.'"[72]

Taking heed, the city council began to conceptualize public schooling as the solution. They joined with secular reformers in 1825 to call for non-denominational schools akin to those operating in Boston. Although not all school advocates had been House of Industry supporters, or vice-versa, both projects envisioned an institutional solution to the shortcoming of the economy. The City Council contended that public schools offered "the best corrective to pauperism" by instilling the moral values essential to upward mobility for the children of working parents. After a series of ward meetings, petitions, elections, state laws, and local ordinances, Baltimore opened three public schools in the fall of 1829. Three years later, five public schools served 500 students, roughly half their capacity and only a fraction of school-age children in the city. A forerunner of the public schools, the House of Industry was also a financial benefactor. When the City Council finally liquidated the House of Industry's dormant property in 1832, the proceeds funded Baltimore's public schools.[73]

Conceived as a jobs-program to supplement a seasonal economy, the School of Industry might have benefited Baltimore's working people. But the institution never had such simple goals. From the outset, the school proposed to instill industrial discipline in a morally-suspect population. Over the twenty-eight year career of the project, punitive goals increasingly overshadowed both the rehabilitative and job-training components of the original plan. However, a simple linear narrative will not suffice as censure did not replace compassion between 1804 and 1832. Both impulses coexisted all along and reappeared in new efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the urban poor. But those later projects, such as the public schools, paid little attention to the wage-worker. When conceived as a penal workhouse to extract labor from a recalcitrant population, there was little to recommend the House of Industry. But for a moment, the project did draw attention to

the plight of wage-workers and the impact of unemployment on their tenuous livelihoods. With the ascent of a wage-labor economy, that attention disappeared—leaving more hard times and continued moral condemnation in its wake.

Notes

1. *Baltimore American* (hereafter, *BA*), August 21, 1804; [Baltimore] *Federal Gazette* (hereafter, *FG*), February 9, 1804.
2. Count Rumford [Benjamin Thompson], "An Account of an Establishment for the Poor at Munich," in Sanborn C. Brown, ed., *Collected Works of Count Rumford: Volume V: Public Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 1–98, quotes on 13, 35. For Rumford, see Sandra Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 141–215; Jayme A. Sokolow, "Count Rumford and Late Enlightenment Science, Technology, and Reform," *The Eighteenth Century* 21 (Winter 1980): 67–86; Charles Guzzetta, "Jefferson, Rumford, and the Problem of Poverty," *Midwest Quarterly* 26 (1985): 343–56.
3. On Anglo-American poor relief, see David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 30–56; Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 13–15; Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America*, 3rd edition (New York: Free Press, 1984), 20–37. For workhouses and other pauper employment schemes, see Gary Nash, *Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 187–97, 254, 324–38; *idem*, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33(1976): 3–30; William H. Williams, "The 'Industrious Poor' and the Founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 431–443; John K. Alexander, *Render them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760–1800* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), passim; Robert E. Cray, *Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and its Rural Environs, 1700–1830* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 100–35; Raymond Mohl, *Poverty in New York, 1783–1825* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Priscilla Clement, *Welfare and the Poor in the Nineteenth-Century City: Philadelphia, 1800–1854* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985).
4. *FG*, February 8, 1804. To locate these practices in continental contexts, see Robert Jutte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991).
5. For a similar project that failed to materialize, see Joel F. Harrington, "Escape from the Great Confinement: The Genealogy of a German Workhouse," *Journal of Modern History*, 71 (June 1999): 308–45.
6. The literature on the Market Revolution is far too voluminous to survey here. See Paul Gilje, ed., *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House Publishers, 1997). On Baltimore, see Charles Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); William Sutton, *Journeymen for Jesus: Evangelical Artisans Confront*

Capitalism in Jacksonian Baltimore (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Tina Sheller, "Freemen, Servants, and Slaves: Artisans and the Craft Structure of Revolutionary Baltimore Town," in Howard Rock, Paul Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 17–32; Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, second edition, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 26–101; Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth–Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 40–62; T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

7. David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market during the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 58. On the relationship between legal compulsion, wage-labor, and the Market Revolution, see also Jonathan Glickstein, *Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 214–21; Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History* 14 (August 1948): 385–400.

8. Baltimore City Archives, 1817:345. Records at the BCA (Baltimore, MD) are itemized within each year; citations contain year and item number. *BA*, February 17, 1817, March 6, 1817.

9. Weatherburn to sister Hannah, March 23, 1805, Letterbook # 123, Weatherburn Collection, ms. 44, Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

10. *BA*, January 8, 1805, February 5, 1805 (first and final quotations), February 17, 1817 (second quotation).

11. For seasonal unemployment, see Billy G. Smith, *"The Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 76–77, 124–25; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 6–7; Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 108–20. *BA*, February 12, 1807.

12. *BA*, January 8, 1805.

13. BCA, 1817: 324.

14. On Baltimore's erratic economy, see Richard Chew, "Certain Victims of an International Contagion: The Panic of 1797 and the Hard Times of the Late 1790s in Baltimore," *Journal of the Early Republic* 25 (Winter 2005): 565–614.

15. *BA*, January 8, 1805.

16. *BA*, February 17, 1817.

17. For promotional material, see "Savings Bank of Baltimore," March 18, 1818, Broadsides Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Maryland Historical Society (MdHS), For account holders during the 1820s, see Maryland State Archives (MSA), Special Collections (First Fidelity Bank Collection) Signature Book 1818–1853, sc 4313–3–59; *idem*, Account Book 1824–1826, sc 4313–9–223. For mandatory savings, see *BA*, February 25, 1817, March 1, 1817.

18. For a catalog of voluntary activity in Baltimore, see Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729–1829: The Genesis of a Community" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1976). *BA*, January 30, 1807, January 9, 1808; *Baltimore Telegraphe* (hereafter, *BT*), January 7, 1804, February 19, 1805; BCA, 1811: 461, 562–72.

19. *BA*, June 14, 1805; Clark, "Baltimore, 1729–1829," 346–47; "Rules of the Baltimore Dispen-

sary," in James Smith, *The Additional Number to the Letters of Humanitas...* (Baltimore: np, 1801), appendix 15–17. For Mary Newton's records, see Baltimore General Dispensary Case Records, 1801–1805, December 27, 28, 1804, January 2, 1805, CMS, Archive/Library, Medical & Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Baltimore.

20. Cornelius William Stafford, *The Baltimore Directory, for 1803* (Baltimore: John W. Butler, 1803), 75.

21. *BA*, February 8, 1811, cited in Clark, "Baltimore, 1729–1829," 290–291, 144–6, 283–5. Douglass G. Carroll, Jr., and Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Almshouse: An Early History," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (1971): 135–52.

22. For 1800, a table of Almshouse admissions and discharges was reprinted in Smith, *Letters of Humanitas* . . ., p. 43. For 1814–1826, see, Baltimore Almshouse Admissions and Discharge Book, ms. 1866.1, MdHS.

23. *BA*, June 11, 1805, February 17, 24, 1817; BCA, 1810:540–42; *Federal Census of 1800, 1810, 1820.*

24. Records of quasi–public wintertime relief are scattered and incomplete: BCA, 1798:232b; 1800:297; 1801:263; *BT*, January 30, 1804; *FG*, February 8, 1804; "Poor of Baltimore in Acct. with Andrew Buchanan, January 1805," Andrew Buchanan Collection, ms. 1555, MdHS; *BA*, January 14, 31, February 5, June 11, 1805; *BA*, February 12, 1807; BCA, 1808:261; 1809:466; 1810:540–542; *BA*, January 20, February 15, 1817.

25. BCA, 1810:445; *BA*, January 22, June 25, 1805; John Mullin, *Baltimore Directory for 1799* (Baltimore: Warner and Hanna, 1799), 127.

26. Undated broadside tucked inside Thomas W. Griffith Scrapbook, MdHS, ms. 412.1.

27. BCA, 1810:373; *BT*, January 30, 1804.

28. *FG*, February 8, 1804; *BA*, February 12, 1807; *BT*, January 30, 1805.

29. *FG*, January 30, February 9, 1804; Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) 1801–1802, c-1-28, 50206-413/428, 2/16/8/45, MSA. See also *BA*, December 17, 1805.

30. For this transition in thought in Philadelphia, see Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 50–89.

31. Jonathan Glickstein, "Pressures from Below: Pauperism, Chattel Slavery, and the Ideological Construction of Free Market Labor Incentives in Antebellum America," *Radical History Review* 69 (1997): 114–59. For a critique of the "social control" thesis, see Conrad E. Wright, *The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 199–206.

32. *BT*, February 10, 1804; *FG*, February 8, 1804; *BT*, February 9, 1804.

33. *BT*, February 10, 13, 1804; Baltimore Library Company Record Books, box 5, ms. 80, MdHS.

34. For Rattoone, see Baltimore County Court (Miscellaneous Court Papers) 1801–1802, c-1-28, MSA. For rudimentary biographical information, see Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 215–40. On ecumenism in Baltimore, see Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), chapter 1.

35. Rumford, "Of the Fundamental Principles on which General Establishments for the Relief of the Poor may be Formed in All Countries," in Brown, ed., *Collected Works*, 99–165, quote on 146; *American*, Aug. 21, 22, 1804. The next several paragraphs draw the School of Industry proposal as published in the *BA*.

36. Steffen, *Mechanics of Baltimore*, 44–47; *BA*, February 23, 1805.

37. *BA*, February 12, 1807. Ward returns from the 1810 winter relief effort show that African–American families constituted over 40 percent of those aided city-wide. See BCA, 1810:540.

38. Rumford, "Fundamental Principles..." and "Poor at Munich," in Brown, ed., *Collected Works*, 62–63, 118, 127–8, 157–8. *BA*, August 21, 22, 1804.
39. *Ibid.*
40. "Subscriptions to the School of Industry, 1804–1805," Vertical file, MdHS.
41. *BA*, March 1, 1806. There were no official calls for emergency relief in the *American* during the winters of 1806, 1807, or 1808.
42. For the overlapping administration of Baltimore City and Baltimore County, see Clark, "Baltimore 1729–1829," chapters 7 and 11. For city budgets, see *Ordinances of the City of Baltimore*, 1808, 1809.
43. On his way out of office in 1816, Johnson still placed law enforcement at the center of his agenda. He hoped to create an efficient police force that would answer to the Mayor's office. See BCA, 1816: 481.
44. Olson, *Baltimore*, 51–54, 61–66; Clark, "Baltimore," part III. For a more general discussion, see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1790–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
45. Mayor Edward Johnson, Message to the City Council, February 11, 1811, *Mayor's Messages*; BCA, 1811:414.
46. For Maryland State vagrancy laws, see 1793 ch. 57, 1804 ch. 96, 1811 ch. 212. For Johnson's comments, see BCA, 1812:549.
47. Maryland Penitentiary (Prisoners Record), 1811–1840, MSA, s275–1, 5655, 1/30/4/37. I am grateful to Steve Whitman for providing me with a copy of his database of prisoners, 1811–1830. Of the 186 vagrancy convicts between 1812 and 1819, there were 35 white men, 102 white women, 8 black man, 41 black women. Vagrancy was one of the only categories of criminal activity where whites so vastly outnumbered blacks and women outnumbered men in the penitentiary. For Rebecca Smith's Almshouse record, see Almshouse Admissions Book, January 12, 1825, MdHS. Housing vagrants at the penitentiary proved costly, as they were unable to cover their expenses through forced labor. An 1818 law altered the punishment for vagrants and sentenced them to the county Almshouse. See *Laws of Maryland*, 1818.169. Priscilla Clement also found female vagrants concentrated in Philadelphia's House of Corrections during the Early Republic. See "The Transformation of the Wandering Poor in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Eric H. Monkkonen, ed., *Walking to Work: Tramps in America, 1790–1935* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 56–84.
48. [Thomas W. Griffith], "The Baltimore Almshouse: An Early History," Douglass G. Carroll, Jr., and Blanche Coll, eds., *MdHM* 66 (Summer 1971): 140.
49. BCA, 1810:373. On the attack on tippling houses, see Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978), 125–46; W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 187–222. An 1821 municipal ordinance regulating taverns read "Whereas the immoderate use of spirituous liquors is the leading cause of the want and misery which exists [in] the lower orders of society; and whereas the great number of tippling shops which are licensed and established within this city afford a strong inducement and temptation to idleness and intemperance..."
50. BCA, 1810:445.
51. For Trustees of the House of Industry, see BCA, 1817:596; for biographical data, see Ridgway, *Community Leadership*, 215–76; for Warner, see BCA, 1814:386.
52. Edward Johnson, February 13, 1815, *Mayor's Messages*. For a discussion of lotteries in Maryland, see W. Ray Luce, "The Cohen Brothers: From Lotteries to Banking," *MdHM* 68 (Fall 1973): 288–308; for St. Paul's Parish, see Baltimore Officials Collection, ms. 1992, MdHS; Impartial Free School: *BA*, July 7, 1804.

53. For the Aimwell Society, see BCA, 1811:562–72. For Grand Jury visits to the penitentiary, see, Baltimore City Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery (Docket and Minutes), 1813, c-183-8, MSA; *ibid.*, 1816, c-183-9. For wood and soup, see BCA, 1810: 540–42; 1808: 261.
54. *BA*, January 19, February 22, March 5, 1817; George Stiles, February 1817, *Mayor's Messages*.
55. *BA*, January 21, 24, February 22, 23, 26, 1817.
56. *BA*, February 20, 22, 1817.
57. *BA*, February 17, 26, 1817
58. For many records from the planning stages, see House of Industry Papers (1812–1823), RG 19, S 9, box 1, BCA; see also BCA 1821: 553, 555, and 913. For public support, see *BA*, October 22, 26, 1819.
59. *BA*, February 20, 24, 1817; August 1, 1818; February 5, 1819.
60. *BA*, February 3, 1820; February 24, 1817. A few years later, the City Council offered the same characterization. They worried about "the great influx of persons who lay aside their habits of industry and infest our streets during summer in the garb of paupers, and as soon as winter approaches, become inmates to the Baltimore County Poorhouse." See 1823: 424, BCA.
61. Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820–1822," *American Historical Review* 61 (October 1955): 77–87; *BA*, March 9, 1820; [Anon.], *To the Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore: T. Maund, 1822); [Anon.], *A Warning to the Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore: np, 1821).
62. *Niles' Register*, July 24, 1819, August 7, 1819; *BA*, October 21, 1819; BCA, 1820:360.
63. Baltimore Commission to Care for the Poor During an Epidemic, *Minutes from September 3 to December 28, 1819*, Archive/Library, Medical & Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, CMS; *Letters and other Documents relating to the Late Epidemic of Yellow Fever . . .*, 135; Olson, *Baltimore*, 52–53. Previous epidemics had elicited a similar suspicion that the dissipated poor *caused* the disease. Commenting on the intemperance of Fell's Point residents and the number of illicit establishments in the neighborhood, one observer asked: "Are not these very haunts of vice and immorality, not only the hateful repositories of filth and uncleanness, but also the chief source of those dreadful calamities we have so often suffered, and to which we are still liable every autumn?" *FG*, February 8, 1804. See also Douglas Stickle, "Death and Class in Baltimore: The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1800," *MdHM* 69 (Winter 1974): 341–60.
64. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism," 81.
65. *Niles Register*, July 26, 1823, September 6, 1823; Browne, *Baltimore*, 70–113, 268 n.15; Almshouse Admissions Book, MdHS.
66. Olson, *Baltimore*, 91–93; Baltimore City Health Department, *The First Thirty-Five Annual Reports, 1815–1849* (Baltimore: City of Baltimore, 1953); *The Constitution of the Baltimore Vaccine Society for Exterminating the Small Pox* (Baltimore: Benjamin Edes, 1822); "Report of the Trustees of the Almshouse," 1827:1114, BCA; Christian Warren, "Northern Chills, Southern Fevers: Race-Specific Mortality in American Cities, 1730–1900," *Journal of Southern History* 63 (1997), 23–55. Warren's graphs show a declining crude death rate in Baltimore during the 1820s, although local mortality schedules reveal the growing number of deaths due to infectious diseases tied to urban poverty, such as consumption and typhus.
67. Daniel Raymond, the Baltimore lawyer who wrote an impressive two-volume treatise on political economy in the early 1820s, discussed pauperism only in the context of England and France. See *The Elements of Political Economy*, second edition (Baltimore: Fielding Lucus, Jr., 1823), vol. II, 29–82. American exceptionalism also informed Thomas W. Griffith's 1819 history of poor relief in Baltimore. In the midst of the Panic, he described almshouse inhabitants as "not the merely poor (who in this country cannot suffer for a scarcity of bread or work)." See [Griffith], "Baltimore Almshouse," 141. Notions of pauperism as a European phenomenon

were long-standing in American political economy. See Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

68. For wood expenditures, see *Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: np, nd), resolution of January 27, 1821. Interestingly, the second branch of the City Council had vetoed a similar measure in BCA, 1820, 1820:549. For Poor Tax, see *City Ordinances*, 1820.21, 1821.20, 1822.26, 1823.5, 1824.8, 1825.9. *Niles Register*, September 6, 1823. At the end of 1817, Mayor Stiles had seen the need for a special poor tax, but it took several years to implement; see BCA, 1817:268a. For the almshouse budget, see 1823:424, BCA. Montgomery's message is in *Mayor's Messages*, 83–84. The figure of $100,000 for the new almshouse appears on T.H. Poppleton's 1823 map of the city of Baltimore, MdHS.

69. The revised plan was printed in the *BA*, January 31, 1823. See Clark, "Baltimore," 314–16.

70. For Baltimore's economy in this period, see Browne, *Baltimore*, 69–158. Griffith's comments: BCA, 1821:960.

71. Ibid.

72. *BA*, January 26, February 2, 3, 1820.

73. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion*, 19–27, 83–99; Clark, "Baltimore," 316; *Laws of Maryland*, 1827, ch. 183; *BA*, January 26, February 3, 1820. Tina Sheller locates the main opposition to the public schools as coming from House of Industry supporters, based on a small sample of nine prominent gentlemen. Her argument creates too stark a dichotomy, overlooks reformers who labored for both projects, and minimizes the "social control" origins of the public schools; see Tina Sheller, "The Origins of Public Education in Baltimore, 1825–1829," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (1982): 23–43; see also *BA*, February 2, 1820 for a House of Industry Trustee turned asylum supporter.

A Catholic Tuskegee: The Cardinal Gibbons Institute, 1922–1933

NICHOLAS M. CREARY

On September 1, 1990, alumni, former faculty and staff, and friends of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute gathered to dedicate a memorial where the school once stood in Ridge, Saint Mary's County, Maryland. Opened in 1924, closed ultimately in 1967, and razed in 1972, the memorial committee restored the school's cupola from Gibbons Hall (the original building) and mounted it atop the memorial. Financial support for the project came from alumni, longtime residents of Saint Mary's County, and the Archdiocese of Washington. This large show of support reflected the strong community ties fundamental to the school's nature and mission and the fact that the institute had been the first of its kind for the secondary education of African Americans in Saint Mary's County.[1]

The Cardinal Gibbons Institute, during its "national" period, provides a vehicle to examine Catholic perspectives on the higher education of African Americans during the early twentieth century. The Gibbons Institute's mission, "provid[ing] both academic and vocational education in parallel courses, following the successful lines of procedure of such well-known institutions for the colored race as Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute," followed the pattern of Danish folk schools.[2]

Begun in 1924, the institute closed nine years after its founding as a national school due to financial difficulties brought about by the Great Depression. It subsequently reopened as a parochial vocational school in 1938. Perennially strapped for cash, the institute depended largely on charitable donations (increasingly scarce after the stock market crash) for its survival. Though a financial failure, the school succeeded as an academic enterprise despite great tensions between its principal, a headstrong African American Catholic alumnus of Tuskegee, and its Board of Trustees, composed primarily of affluent, paternalistic white American Catholics. Although these differences affected the administration of the school, they had a more significant influence on the institute's founder, John LaFarge. A Jesuit priest from Maryland, LaFarge had been intimately involved in the work of the Federated Colored Catholics of the United States, an African American lay Catholic organization founded in 1917 to secure equal rights for blacks within the church. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute's Board, LaFarge was caught between African American Catholics who were inter-

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ested in "the uplift of the race" and European American paternalists who saw African Americans as incapable of helping themselves, in need of guidance, and certainly incapable of establishing and administering programs designed for their own benefit. He experienced great frustration and disillusionment, particularly in the wake of the acrimonious demise of the Federated Colored Catholics in early 1933 and, as a result, established the Catholic Interracial Council of New York in 1934.[3] This organization, dedicated to the integration (or assimilation) of African Americans into the Catholic Church in the United States was the goal of the Federation.[4]

The Catholic Church and Vocational Education

The founding of a vocational high school is illustrative of the Catholic Church's views and efforts with regard to the education of African Americans during the first three decades of the twentieth century. As an institution, the church in the United States ignored the African American community. Any apostolic involvement therein was initiated largely by specific individuals or religious institutes. With regard to education, the church directed its resources to the primary level, with little at the secondary level and virtually no higher education. Having adopted the dominant culture's racial perspectives, Catholic education in the United States functioned, as a general rule, along racially segregated lines.[5]

Writing in 1929, John Gillard, a Josephite priest and sociologist, argued that while the Catholic church "has not generally been considered a force in the solution of America's most vexing problem," it had been actively involved on behalf of African Americans. His *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* was an apology for the church that attempted to respond to the criticisms of African Americans from both outside and within the church. Leaders such as W. E. B. Dubois, Carter G. Woodson, and Thomas Wyatt Turner argued that the Catholic Church was prejudiced against African Americans, refused to ordain them, or place them in positions of authority. Gillard sought to refute this argument and presented the church's involvement with the black community dating to the colonial period, its response to the migration at the turn of the twentieth century, and the beneficent effects of its mission to African Americans in his times.[6] The historical parts of his book were generally well received, yet Gillard's views as to the obstacles for the church's further progress among African Americans drew enormous criticism from all parts of the African American community.[7] He argued that the principal difficulties to successful evangelization facing the church were African American Protestant prejudice against Catholicism, the emotional nature of "Negro religion," and the problem of "Negro morality," the lack of which he felt may have had hereditary as well as environmental causes.[8]

Sixty years after Gillard's books caused such controversy, Cyprian Davis argued that Africans had been a part of the church from its beginnings over two thousand years ago, and a part of the church in North America since the early days

of Spanish colonization. Davis refuted Gillard's assertions by contextualizing them and showing the paternalistic perceptions of African Americans that the Josephites and many other religious institutes, as well as members of the hierarchy, held.[9]

Writing contemporarily with Davis, Stephen Ochs detailed the Josephites' failure to ordain African American candidates to the priesthood for most of their existence in the United States. He attributed their failed mission largely to the very same paternalistic attitudes that Gillard espoused in 1929, and eleven years later in his second work *Colored Catholics in the United States.*[10]

The only study of the Catholic Church's efforts to educate all African Americans in the United States is Margaret A. Diggs, *Catholic Negro Education in the United States.*[11] Written in 1936, it is primarily hagiographic in nature and does not assess the church's failure, particularly in the period after the Civil War. There exists a dearth of studies on Catholic education of African Americans, especially beyond the primary level. Although Davis established a broad framework in which to further study black Catholic history, and Ochs recast the history of the formation of an African American Catholic clergy, neither adequately addressed the issue of African American Catholic education.

It was not until the 1890s that the church began to establish, in any notable numbers, secondary schools for African Americans, many of which offered vocational training. Louise Drexel Morrell, sister of Mother Katherine Drexel (the foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Coloreds and Indians), established St. Emma's Agricultural and Industrial Institute in Rock Castle, Virginia, in 1895. In the same year, the Josephites established St. Joseph's Industrial School in Clayton, Delaware. Neither school provided a full four-year high school course nor employed any African American teachers until 1928. Additionally, the Josephites and Divine Word Fathers also opened schools in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Lafayette, Louisiana, respectively.[12] Accordingly, few African Americans received the benefits of a Catholic higher education.[13]

A brief examination of the debate among African American intellectuals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the benefits of industrial versus academic education helps explain the church's preference for vocational education. Booker Taliafero Washington, the most notable proponent of the industrial education of African Americans, believed that academic training was inappropriate for post–Reconstruction African Americans. "Jim Crow" legislation deemed the majority of black Americans unequal to whites, a situation that perpetuated economic hardship. African American education, therefore, should be directed toward learning the trades in which workers would find opportunities for economic advancement. According to Washington, once this goal had been achieved, then academic pursuits became feasible.[14]

William Edward Burghardt Dubois vociferously opposed this view and believed that Washington advocated black submission in his advocacy for industrial

education. Dubois believed that African Americans needed "well equipped colleges and universities" in order to ensure the political equality African Americans had received during Reconstruction and the social equality for which they strove. From Dubois's perspective, economic advancement and political and social progress could not be separated.[15]

Thomas Wyatt Turner, founder of the Federated Colored Catholics of the United States, taught botany at Howard University and Hampton Institute and had contacts with Washington and Dubois. As will be discussed later, he would have a major influence in shaping the nature and mission of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute. Turner, who saw the rancorous debate as pointless, believed advancement required both academic and industrial education. Turner concerned himself more specifically with the post-grammar school Catholic educational opportunities available to African Americans.[16]

Gillard found approximately 98,700 students in 423 exclusively African American public high schools in the mid 1920s and approximately 10,200 African American students in 103 segregated private schools. Of this latter category forty-one Catholic high schools enrolled 1,470 students. These figures included "Complete High Schools Approved by State, Complete High Schools Unapproved by State, and Incomplete High Schools," of which only thirteen fell into the first category. Significantly, Gillard did not consider, however remote, the possibility of racially integrated education into his study of black Catholic education.[17] With the exception of Xavier University of New Orleans, established as a high school by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in 1915 (and ten years later opened a teacher's college), the church did not sponsor an institution for the higher education of African Americans. Students who pursued higher education attended the predominately white Catholic colleges and universities.[18] Many Catholic institutions of higher education, such as the Catholic University of America, barred African Americans from admission. Racial practices, coupled with limited personnel and financial resources, often had the explicit, and more frequently the tacit, approbation of bishops and major superiors of religious institutes.[19]

Beginnings: 1916–1924

In November 1916, three Jesuit priests, active in the African American missions of southern Maryland, met with Cardinal James Gibbons, the Archbishop of Baltimore. John LaFarge, J. Brent Matthews, and Abraham Emerick, eager to establish a school on behalf of those to whom they ministered, proposed a reformatory modeled on the Xavierian Brothers St. Mary's Industrial School in Baltimore.[20] Irate at the plan for a reform school, Thomas Wyatt Turner and other black Catholic educators noted that several Protestant churches were establishing colleges for African Americans.[21] Despite this opposition, Cardinal Gibbons approved the plan and donated $8,000 for the purchase of 180 acres in the southern Mary-

land town of Ridge, near St. Peter Claver church. LaFarge and several others, including Lawrence P. Williams, a resident of Ridge, and delegate to the Maryland State legislature, formed a board of directors and incorporated the St. Peter Claver Institute in Maryland.[22] Several events delayed the project, including World War I and Gibbons's death in 1921. For reasons that remain unclear, the Xavierian brothers withdrew from their tentative agreement to administer the school.

LaFarge believed it a wise decision to consult with Arthur C. Monahan, the director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference's (NCWC) Education Department and, more significantly, with Thomas Wyatt Turner and Eugene A. Clarke, the president of the Miner Teacher's College of the District of Columbia. Turner and Clarke convinced LaFarge that African American youth did not need a reformatory, but a school that would train them to meet "the needs of the race." Turner reiterated that the Protestants were establishing colleges for the education of African Americans and suggested that the school be an industrial school with an academic department for an education in the liberal arts.[23]

LaFarge took the advice of the African American educators and assembled a new board of trustees that incorporated the southern Maryland school on July 15, 1922. Included on the new board were Archbishop Michael Curley as *ex officio* president of the board; Admiral William S. Benson, president of the National Council of Catholic Men, as chairman of the executive committee; Arthur C. Monahan of the NCWC Education Department as the executive secretary; Lawrence P. Williams, member of the Maryland House of Delegates (and chair of its Education Committee) as treasurer; and William S. Aumen, the Maryland State deputy of the Knights of Columbus.[24] Per their official mission, they would:

> provid[e] . . . a boarding and day school for the education of colored youth, where they may be taught the usual branches of an English education, and where they may also receive the instruction and practical training in agricultural, industrial, and mechanical pursuits."[25]

The faculty and staff were to consist entirely of African Americans.[26] Clearly, the input of two African American Catholic men, Turner and Clarke, had been decisive in shaping and influencing the tenor and mission of the school.

The school's first principal, Victor Hugo Daniel, also influenced the school's design. A native of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, born in 1883, Daniel came to the United States in 1905 and graduated from the Tuskegee Institute in 1911. Shortly thereafter he joined the staff of Tuskegee and later worked as superintendent of the Bordentown Industrial Institute in New Jersey. His wife, Constance Hazel Daniel, was the daughter of William Augustus Hazel, a renowned Massachusetts African American architect, and Rosa Hazard, the first black faculty member at Hampton Institute. She graduated from Tuskegee in 1912.

In 1924, during the hiring negotiations, Daniel suggested several development plans that the board allowed him to implement, specifically that of adapting the curriculum to the immediate needs of the local community.[27] The majority of the board members had little or no practical knowledge of how to administer an industrial boarding school. Without the vision that Victor and Constance Daniel supplied, it is questionable whether the school would have been able to garner the high regard it achieved in southern Maryland, particularly among the black community. Not surprisingly, severe tensions emerged between the Daniels, two very independent-minded and strong-willed Catholic alumni of Tuskegee, and the predominately white laymen who comprised the school's governing body—specifically Arthur Monahan, executive secretary of the board of trustees.

In need of capital for the physical plant, Aumen petitioned the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus for assistance, and received a five cent per capita assessment of its membership. This brought in $38,000, allocated for the construction of Gibbons Hall and the partial renovation of a farm house for the growing Daniels family.[28] The first contribution to the building fund, however, a $10 donation, came from E.M. Colwin, an African American Catholic from Washington, D.C.[29]

In 1924 the board of trustees borrowed $12,000 for the construction of a boys' dormitory (the girls lived on the third floor of Gibbons Hall) yet the cost quickly ran closer to $16,000. Fortunately, the bishop of Pittsburgh made a generous donation to cover the shortfall and the board gratefully put his name on the new building.[30]

Living Hand to Mouth

The financial history of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute is difficult to trace. There are no extant records for 1922 to 1927, and those available for 1927 to 1933 are incomplete. It is evident, even from this fragmentary record, that the school led a precarious financial existence. A chronic lack of funds set the tone for the stormy relations between the Daniels and the board of trustees. The absence of money, however, did not deter the principal from planning and implementing a successful academic program for training African American youths and their families.

The construction of Gibbons Hall, completed in 1924, depleted the building fund and left no operating money. Executive committee chair Benson, with the board, believed that several thousand dollars remained in the account. Monahan, executive committee secretary and keeper of the accounts, failed to inform the group of its financial status. For unknown reasons, Monahan did not inform the Daniels (who had been hired in June) of the situation until after the school's dedication in late October. Consequently, the Tuskegee alumni, "decided to take the chance and attempt to run the Institute on the family's personal funds until money should be forth-coming."[31] This telling incident suggests a complex relationship be-

tween the Daniels and Arthur Monahan—the board took no action against the secretary for what could be construed as gross financial mismanagement.

According to Monahan's financial report of October 1, 1926, the institute had received approximately $120,960 from 1922 to 1926. This sum included the $38,000 from the Knights of Columbus for Gibbons Hall; $7,860 from other Catholic organizations; $13,600 from various bishops and priests; $27,500 from individuals and miscellaneous sources; and $34,000 from auxiliary fundraising committees established in nineteen cities.[32] Between 1923 and 1927, African Americans contributed about $40,000 to the institute. Monahan had solicited most of this money, and when he left the executive committee in 1928, contributions from this source declined dramatically.[33]

In February 1928, Monahan became the institute's purchasing manager in a move that further angered the Daniels. Lawrence P. Williams, treasurer of the board, assumed responsibility for the school's finances. The school's cash balance stood at just $438.27. Between February and June (the close of the fiscal year) they received $8,807.32 and disbursed $8,852.07 in expenses. Unpaid bills totaled $3,764.08 and a $7,000 note to the Calvert Bank of Leonardtown, Maryland, accounted for a debt of $10,764.08.[34] Fiscal year 1928–1929 found the institute in an even tighter financial position. Although receipts had increased to over $22,000, expenses increased as well and the report shows a net balance of only $6.37, with $11,500 in unpaid loans and $4,764.16 in outstanding bills. The board authorized Williams to borrow $5,000 toward the overdue accounts.[35] The situation worsened with the onset of the Great Depression. The school received approximately $14,000 during the last six months of 1930, yet operating expenses alone exceeded $19,000. Capital improvements and other expenses added another $5,000.[36]

Salaries accounted for one quarter to one third of the annual expenses, food and rooming expenses accounted for another quarter, interest payments on loans and outstanding debts took roughly 15 percent of the annual budget, and extension work with local farmers accounted for approximately two percent of expenditures.

Per month, students paid $3 tuition and $16 room and board. This revenue source should have brought in $11,000 per year from 1930 through 1932, yet the school received just $1,400 in 1930–1931 and $2,500 in 1931–1932.[37] The difference paid for student labor during the school year. This more than likely explains the relatively low proportion of maintenance costs reported in the annual budget statements (circa one percent to five percent per year). As the school did not have an endowment and remained committed to educating its poor rural constituents, it remained completely dependent on the annual contributions of wealthy individuals and philanthropic organizations. As the effects of the Depression spread, these sources of revenues began to wither, and the debts increased.[38]

In 1931 the trustees added two wings to Gibbons Hall, one for the carpentry shops and the other for additional girls' dormitory space. A $7,500 grant from the

General Education Board paid for new heating, electric, and water systems, as well as several farm improvements completed the same year.[39] By 1931, LaFarge sought a $50,000 loan from Georgetown University at a substantially low interest rate as the school had not run a capital campaign since 1929. The fundraising void came in the aftermath of efforts to sort through Monahan's bookkeeping records and establish a functional system of fundraising and record management. With little cash on hand, LaFarge worked discreetly for the money to pay expenses until the capital campaign revenue became available. He most likely approached Georgetown, the largest Jesuit university in Maryland, as he likely knew its president, Coleman Nevils, also a Maryland Jesuit. According to LaFarge, the institute "[had] no indebtedness save a bank note of $9,000 carried by a Baltimore bank, which, the Bank [said] can be carried indefinitely without their inconvenience."[40] LaFarge's statement is most curious. Had the institute consolidated and paid a substantial portion of its debt? Did he know the extent of the debt? Or, did he intentionally misrepresent it? Fifty thousand dollars seems an unusually large sum for which to ask, considering the school's operating expenses and the general state of the economy in 1931. There is no record of a response from Nevils in the LaFarge papers, nor are there any extant financial records from the institute that show receipt of such a sum (or any portion thereof) from Georgetown University. Apparently Nevils declined LaFarge's request. Additionally, a letter from Nevils to LaFarge dated October 2, 1933, responding to LaFarge's correspondence of September 29, 1933 indicates that LaFarge tried unsuccessfully to secure funds from Nevils again shortly before the executive committee decided to terminate coursework at the institute.[41]

By 1932, the institute's annual operating expenses had reached approximately $45,000. The executive committee slashed the budget for the 1932–1933 school year to $30,000, drastically reduced enrollment, staff, and department budgets.[42] By November 1933, the institute stood approximately $27,000 in debt. The executive committee determined that the school could no longer carry such a large debt and simultaneously raise the necessary funds for the annual operating expenses—and consequently closed the academic and industrial departments, effectively ending all coursework, on December 15, 1933. Coursework would not resume until the debt had been paid in full, yet extension work in the local communities continued. According to LaFarge, as of January 1, 1935, the institute owed $12,000 to $13,000 to creditors in addition to $5,000 in bank notes. This sum remained outstanding after the committee had paid approximately one third of the debt throughout 1934, including back pay to staff dating to 1932.[43] Classes would not resume until the autumn of 1938.

Success on a Shoestring

Counterbalancing the dismal financial record of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute,

its remarkable survival hinged—and thrived—on its vigorous academic program. That it did so given its paucity of financial resources render the staff's accomplishments nothing short of astonishing. One observer noted that:

> Everywhere was evident the need of money to carry out the ideas of this far-visioned principal and his wife [Victor and Constance Daniel], but everywhere it is evident that nothing has stopped because the money was not available for this or that, but with the true Booker Washington spirit they had taken what they had to make what they needed, while they worked for what they wanted.[44]

Gibbons Hall, the Institute's first building, was dedicated on Sunday, October 26, 1924, and classes began the following day. The board had planned to open the school the previous year, but insufficient finances and difficulty in finding a principal delayed the construction and dedication. They had initially offered the principal's position to Turner who was then teaching Biology at Hampton Institute. He declined the offer and subsequently received an invitation to join the board of trustees.[45]

In June 1924, the board hired Daniel, and then his wife Constance as assistant principal and matron. The Daniels and a local farmer comprised the faculty and staff during the first year. LaFarge served as the school's chaplain until he was transferred to the staff of *America* magazine in New York City two years later. A Jesuit at St. Peter Claver's Church succeeded him. At that time the school served twenty-eight students from St. Mary's County.[46]

Prior to his employment, Daniel submitted a number of inquiries about, and suggestions for, the school and its program. He recommended that the curriculum be adapted to the needs of the local community, and that academic work begin at the junior high school level, with higher grades added "slowly to meet the needs of the developing student body."[47] He further recommended the development of a program for students of high school age who had only a rudimentary elementary level education. With regard to the industrial component of the curriculum, the new principal recommended two years of plain sewing and cooking, one year of laundry work and housekeeping for all girls; carpentry, blacksmithing, and one year of "simple cooking," home gardening, and poultry raising for all boys. Rural students were to be encouraged to study agriculture. Other industries such as machine shop work, printing, shoe repair work, "real dress-making," and home economics would be added as finances and the needs and capacities of the students permitted.[48]

Application materials printed either during or shortly after 1924 indicate that Daniel succeeded in convincing the board to allow him to implement most of his program. Applicants had to be at least fourteen years old with a seventh-grade

education, although "a few *grown* students" interested in industrial work would be admitted without the latter requirement.[49] Although "the present work [of the institute was] of a junior high school grade, full high school and normal [i.e., teacher education] courses [would] be added later, [but they were] not now part of the curriculum."[50] Girls received courses in plain sewing, cooking, and laundry and boys in general mechanics and agriculture. All students were "required to assist in the up-keep of the [physical] plant," considered "very necessary for their proper training in responsibility and cooperation with others, as well as for the maintenance of the school at a reasonable cost."[51]

During the first two years, industrial education for the boys remained limited to campus maintenance work. Although a mechanic had been hired for the 1925–1926 school year, his failure to do the work cost him the job.[52] A domestic science teacher joined the staff in 1925, as did a "teacher-secretary." At the same time, the curriculum advanced one year (ninth grade) and the school aded the "Opportunity Group" added as well. This group, a "special class of elementary work," strove to "meet the needs of students who lacked the ability to put into practice the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, although they had finished the county [elementary] schools."[53] Enrollment by the end of the school year had increased, by 50 percent, to 42 students.[54]

By the end of the following academic year the board added one more grade and enrollment increased to 54 students. In 1929, the staff made preparations for a rising high school junior class and eagerly anticipated the graduation of its first seniors.[55] In May 1929, the school's population included seventy-three students and eleven faculty and staff, including the Daniels as administrators and teachers, academic and industrial staff, a secretary, and Jesuit Fr. Horace B. McKenna as chaplain—seven students had already graduated.[56] The school offered courses in basic arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry, biology, elementary chemistry, ancient and modern world history, American history, African American history, geography, civics, English language and literature, music, catechism, religion, rural economics, home economics, carpentry, and shop work.[57]

Enrollment and staff peaked during the 1931–1932 school year at 102 and fourteen respectively.[58] By 1932, half of the staff had graduated from the Teachers' College of Xavier University of New Orleans.[59] Those numbers dropped drastically at the start of the 1932–1933 school year, by approximately 40 percent, due to the financial constraints brought about by the Depression. Staff members accepted a voluntary ten percent salary reduction in January 1932.[60]

A significant component of the institute's curriculum lay in its extension work. Consisting primarily of conferences designed to train local farmers in modern agricultural techniques and extensive health awareness and health improvement campaigns in local communities, this facet of the school's program (in addition to providing the only secondary education available to African Americans in St.

Mary's County) endeared it to the local African American population. What had begun as a celebration of Negro Health Week in 1925 had become, by 1932, a three-month health campaign during which the students completed over one thousand health improvement projects for roughly the same number of families throughout southern Maryland.[61]

Despite glaring financial adversity, the Daniels developed and implemented a successful academic program at the Cardinal Gibbons Institute. Within five years they transformed it from a junior high school that admitted students with substandard elementary educations into a senior high school that offered a full secondary course of studies as well as instruction in industrial education. Between 1929 and 1933 they graduated forty students, approximately half of whom pursued higher education at schools such as Hampton and Tuskegee. The remainder obtained employment in the fields they had studied at the Gibbons Institute.[62] The editor of *The Tuskegee Messenger* acclaimed the Cardinal Gibbons Institute as:

> the school where as at no other place in America is being carried out the combined program of industrial education as seen by Booker Washington, and the folk school idea as carried out in Denmark; the education of farm children in the classroom for richer lives, the education of farm parents on the farm for fuller living.[63]

Despite its accomplishments, the Institute failed to gain state accreditation, perhaps, as the 1932 Curriculum Study Committee stated, due to the lack of laboratory facilities for the science classes, and a complete absence of foreign languages from the curriculum.[64]

Demise of the Institute

The Cardinal Gibbons Institute, for most of its existence, was the only Catholic industrial school in the United States solely established and administered by lay people. The local administration and the trustees clashed repeatedly due to serious differences in their visions, managerial styles, and the personalities of Victor Daniel and Arthur Monahan. The executive secretary's excessive management could be seen as a lack of confidence in the Daniels' ability to determine the needs of African American youth and to develop and implement an appropriate educational program. Monahan's actions, regardless of his intentions, ultimately proved counterproductive and paternalistic. The restructuring of the Board in 1929 and 1930 failed to ease tensions. Constance Daniel resigned as assistant principal in 1927. Victor subsequently hired her back for $1 per year and eventually at her full salary. There is no official record of the board's approval of Daniel's action. He suffered a nervous breakdown, a result of physical exhaustion, in 1932. [65] Father LaFarge tried, and failed, to mediate the situation, yet the frustration he encoun-

tered, particularly upon gaining chairmanship the newly revised executive committee, swayed him from supporting African American rights within the Catholic Church to advocating for interracial cooperation and assimilation.

From the institute's earliest days, Victor Daniel and Arthur Monahan opposed each other on multiple points, among them junior high school grades, implementing a complete secondary course on a permanent basis, and adding at least teacher training courses.[66] The latter believed that the institute "[would] comprise a grade school, a high school and a vocational and agricultural school."[67] This led to sharp discussion over the development and implementation of the curriculum, and the board ultimately supported Daniel's vision.[68]

The principal asked for, and apparently received, broad latitude in local administration, including faculty hiring and student admissions. Monahan, on numerous occasions, interfered with these processes. LaFarge's January 8, 1929, "Memo of Letters, etc., returned to Mr. Daniel," was a two-page memorandum for his own files that summarized ten letters from Daniel and Monahan in which the secretary either called into question or attempted to reverse Daniel's actions. Attached to the memo are four pages of typed notes from Daniel to Admiral William Benson, chairman of the executive committee, with further detail on Monahan's efforts to subvert his authority.[69]

The Daniels and Monahan held widely divergent views "on what constituted the necessities for decent and well-ordered living conditions."[70] For example, Monahan refused to allow the Daniels to construct partitions between lavatory stalls (Constance Daniel disregarded said order and had partitions put in place) and refused to purchase carpeting for the concrete floors in the girls' dormitory, despite complaints from the girls and their parents. The secretary stated that "Scientific investigation had proved that concrete was just as warm as wood."[71] Similarly, they had different ideas concerning the health aspects of the institute's extension work. Monahan thought it unnecessary and the Daniels, believing it was a vital component of the school's mission, implemented several annual campaigns over and against the former's objections.[72] On several occasions the executive secretary made decisions with regard to work on the physical plant against the recommendation of the principal, resulting in major property damage and capital expenditure to correct the problems. For example, due to Monahan's decisions, improperly installed water pipes burst during the winter, causing—among other things—the septic tank to overflow and ruin one of the fields used by the farm.[73]

Monahan's position required that he be the liaison between the board and the local administration, and the business manager, responsible for overseeing fundraising activities and the institute's financial accounts.[74] The principal bore responsibility for the local administration of the school, recruiting staff and students, and fundraising duties.[75] Monahan frequently interfered while Victor was away on fundraising or recruiting trips.[76] The assistant principal, Constance

Daniel, frustrated by the board's contradicting its own "stated policy of non-interference" believed it "impossible to carry on [her] responsibilities in any creditable manner."[77] Stating that she would "not carry them on in any other way," she resigned in July 1927. Lawrence Williams subsequently replaced Monahan as business manager in September 1927. The trustees removed him from the board when they reorganized in 1929. Prior to his removal, however, the executive committee appointed Monahan purchasing agent, a position that gave him responsibility for acquiring all supplies—the work also brought him into closer contact with Victor Daniel. Williams saw the move as mistake, but recognized LaFarge's attempt to ameliorate both sides. Victor Daniel gave serious consideration to tendering his own resignation.[78]

Admiral Benson frequently supported Monahan's paternalistic behavior. Victor Daniels wrote a twenty-page letter to Archbishop Curley and the board in response to allegations from several trustees that he and his wife had refused to cooperate. The principal also expressed his concern over the rising debt, and LaFarge moved to restructure the board. Benson and Monahan, in their failure to establish a stable source of revenue, had alienated the Daniels.

The board of trustees, formerly a group of twelve with a minimum of two African Americans, sat for renewable three-year terms and met quarterly.[79] The new board held a greatly expanded membership, including five officers. The Archbishop of Baltimore, Michael Curley, remained *ex officio* chairman of the board, two vice presidents, a secretary and treasurer, an executive committee of seven wealthy and prominent Catholic laymen, and Father LaFarge (all of whom, with one exception, lived in New York City), met as necessary. The general membership of the board, including the officers and sixteen-member executive committee met only once a year.[80] Power, effectively placed with the executive committee, rendered the members—officers and trustees—"nominal."[81] Interaction between the executive committee and the institute was carried out by an executive secretary who served as the liaison, a move designed to prevent the trustees from interfering with the local administration and therefore eliminate the problems of the past.[82]

The person responsible for introducing the new system and for developing a fundraising plan was Oliver Hazard Perry LaFarge, John LaFarge's brother. As chairman of the executive committee, O.H.P. LaFarge called on the John Price Jones Corporation to conduct an analysis of the school's fundraising potential.[83] Unfortunately he became ill before he could take any action on the recommendations.[84] Consequently, the committee chose John LaFarge as its new chairman and shortly thereafter appointed George K. Hunton, a white attorney from New England who was practicing law in New York, as executive secretary.[85] This displeased the Daniels, who had hoped that the executive committee would appoint an African American to the post, and further strained what had become a tense relation-

ship with LaFarge, far different than the warm and informal relationship the three had enjoyed during the school's early years. Constance in particular, carried on a friendly correspondence in which they discussed the issues of concern to the school, matters of policy, and their personal thoughts on board members' actions.[86] By 1932, the tone of the relationship had changed dramatically. LaFarge's letters became very business-like, with only a perfunctory vote of confidence in the Daniels' administration, yet even then he did try to support their efforts. Constance Daniel's letters were replete with frustration and exhaustion from having to fight to keep the institute's program intact. During the 1931–1932 school year, Victor Daniel suffered a nervous breakdown resulting from physical exhaustion and constant anxiety brought about by his dealings with the board of trustees, the school's debt, and administration. Constance Daniel became the acting principal for the remainder of the year.[87] The acting principal expressed her opinion that the school had:

> deteriorated from a self-respecting school, guided by Negroes, and authorized by the Church. . . . to one more little Negro school, very definitely controlled by its Board or its appointees. . . . I have, against my will, lost confidence in its development as a creditable and honorable Negro institution, having the disinterested support of persons interested in the Negro as a Negro—not simply as a possible convert. . . .We seem to be—as a race—cursed with paternalism. Probably it was our intense desire, rather than any real possibility, that led us to expect that this work would develop into a legitimate outlet through which Negro Catholics might develop themselves by their own initiative—and quite as much, by their own failures.[88]

LaFarge, too, experienced a great deal of frustration while at the helm of the executive committee. Desperately seeking money to alleviate the burdensome debt, he turned to his Jesuit superiors for assistance. In a moment of extremely rare candor, LaFarge expressed exasperation with his Jesuit confreres:

> Unless there is more definite interest shown by Ours [i.e., Jesuits] in [the Maryland-New York] Province towards the Negro work, I fear that the little (and it is only a very little) that I have succeeded in starting will perish. My own physical strength naturally diminishes with each year, and the mental initiative will go with it.[89]

LaFarge complained that the educational opportunities for African Americans in southern Maryland were more or less the same as when he first visited in 1911, the Cardinal Gibbons Institute excepted. Saying that he "simply hang[s] his head" when he compared the Jesuits' works among blacks in southern Maryland to that of secular priests elsewhere in the world, LaFarge noted that he had heard

the same criticism from non-Jesuits, and that his efforts on behalf of the institute adversely affected his work at *America*. "The American reading public is not interested in the Negro, and however one may feel about it personally, it is not a 'selling topic.' Moreover, it has been a serious detriment to my own studies and intellectual work."[90]

LaFarge wrote in a similar fashion to his provincial superior. Citing the lack of educational facilities for African Americans in their missions, he concluded with a scathing indictment of what can only be described as the enduring corporate racism of the Society of Jesus:

> Can we really speak of the Jesuit Negro Missions in S[outhern] Maryland, when: 1) We have not one priest working there full time for the Negro? 2) When those who are working for both races are for the greater part apathetic to the colored? 3) [when there is no] educational program for the Negroes? [especially considering that at one parish] there are two schools for whites, and none for the numerous Negroes. . .Can we ever have God's real blessing upon these missions, or upon the province for that matter, as long as we have left unpaid, through the education of their descendants, the debt spiritually contracted for the wrongs perpetrated upon the Negroes who were the property of the Society [of Jesus] a century ago?[91]

Not surprisingly, the Jesuits refused to offer any financial assistance to the Cardinal Gibbons Institute.

What is significant about these letters, beyond revealing LaFarge's inner tensions, is their date, written roughly six months after the demise of the Federated Colored Catholics of the United States. Through a rancorous debate, LaFarge remained largely silent but ultimately sided with fellow Jesuit William Markoe and promoted interracial action, rather than pluralism, within the church—the stated mission of the Federation.[92] After fifteen years of working directly in the southern Maryland missions (1911–1926) and an additional seven years working closely with African Americans on their behalf, LaFarge appears to have become thoroughly exhausted in trying to establish equality, on their own terms, in the Catholic Church. By 1933, he had come into contact with whites in New York who were willing to support work on behalf of African Americans but on different terms. The work had to transcend the issue of race and become an issue of catholicity, of accepting all people equally as people. In short, of assimilating all peoples into the one fold of the church regardless of culture or color. Thus the Catholic Interracial Council of New York formed in May 1934, less than five months after the demise of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute. It is most interesting to note that all of the New York-based members of the Gibbons Institute executive committee were charter members of the Interracial Council.[93]

It is of little surprise that the Daniels supported Thomas Wyatt Turner and his followers in the debate over the nature and mission of the Federated Colored Catholics. This undoubtedly increased the tensions already present between the school's local administration and the chairman of its executive committee. Yet it appears that the decision to close the Cardinal Gibbons Institute in December 1933 rested solely on financial considerations and did not stem from vindictiveness for the Daniels' support of Turner and their alleged attacks on Archbishop Curley in the *Baltimore Afro-American*. Beginning in January 1933, Cora Grace Inman wrote a series of articles condemning Markoe and LaFarge for destroying the Federated Colored Catholics and Archbishop Curley for not supporting Turner. Similar articles appeared in the wake of the institute's closing. Curley and others believed that Constance Daniel was most likely the author.[94]

Richard Roche noted increased interest in Catholic higher education on the part of African Americans in 1925 and 1935.[95] It seems more than merely a coincidence that such interest should peak in the years immediately following the inception of two national movements—the Federated Colored Catholics in 1924 and the Catholic Interracial Council in 1934—for the improvement of conditions for African Americans within the Catholic church. Both of these efforts placed extreme importance on the value of higher education for African Americans.

Inextricably bound to the Cardinal Gibbons Institute, the founder of the Federated Colored Catholics greatly influenced the shape and mission of the school. Additionally, the institute brought together and united the Catholic Interracial Council's leadership. Although the Cardinal Gibbons Institute failed as a national school for the industrial training of African American youth under Catholic auspices, it helped give rise (with the Federated Colored Catholics) to the national organization that made Catholic participation in the mid-century Civil Rights movement possible. Finally, the school continued to educate the youth of St. Mary's County, Maryland, for three decades after its reestablishment as a parochial vocational high school in 1938.

Notes

1. "Dedication slated for memorial to an historic school for blacks," *Catholic Standard* (Archdiocese of Washington), August 23, 1990; *Cardinal Gibbons Memorial Dedication*, September 1, 1990, in Josephite Fathers Archives (JFA hereafter), Maryland/Ridge File (MRF hereafter); Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (St. Mary's City, Maryland: St. Mary's County Bicentennial Commission, 1975), 293.
2. JFA, MRF, "The Cardinal Gibbons Institute: A National School for Colored Youth" (a promotional pamphlet published in 1922), 5; Marilyn W. Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest and*

the Federated Colored Catholics, 1917–1933: Three Perspectives on Interracial Justice (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 228–29. It is significant to note that Hampton and Tuskegee were the primary models for the Gibbons Institute's vision and organization. The Danish folk school model was doubtless appealing for its emphases on rural education, preparation of farmers for meaningful participation in a democratic society and the high school as a vehicle to that end, and the preservation and promotion of culture, particularly within an African American context and in the hands of the Tuskegee alumni who ran the Cardinal Gibbons Institute. For more on the Danish folk schools see Harold W. Stubblefield, "The Danish Folk High School and its Reception in the United States: 1870s–1930s," http://www-distance.syr.edu/stubblefield.html; idem, *Towards a History of Adult Education in America* (London: Croom Helm, 1988); S. M. Borish, *The Land of the Living* (Nevada City, Calif.: Blue Dolphin Publishing, 1991); O. D. Campbell, *The Danish Folk School: Its Influence in the life of Denmark and the North* (New York: Macmillan, 1928); H. W. Foght, *The Danish Folk High Schools* (U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 22), (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914).

3. See Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*.

4. Catholic Interracial Council of New York (CICNY hereafter), Box 1, Archives of the Catholic University of America (ACUA hereafter), CICNY Constitution, Article II.

5. See Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroads Publishing, 1991), chapter 4.

6. John Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore: St. Joseph's Society Press, 1929), 179–89; Parts I–V.

7. Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*, 65–70.

8. Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, Part VI.

9. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*.

10. Stephen J. Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: the Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871–1961* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); John Gillard, *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore: St. Joseph's Society Press, 1940).

11. Margaret A. Diggs, *Catholic Negro Education in the United States* (Washington: Published by author, 1936).

12. See Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*; Diggs, *Catholic Negro Education in the United States*, 113–20; Stephen Ochs, "The Ordeal of Black Priests," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, January, 1986, 45–66.

13. See Richard Roche, *Catholic Colleges and the Negro Student* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1948).

14. Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro* (New York: Negro University Press, 1969).

15. W.E.B. DuBois, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York, The Library of America, 1986), cf. "Of the Training of Black Men," in ibid.

16. See Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*, 19–25; Thomas Wyatt Turner, "After the Parish School, What?—for the Catholic Colored Child," *The Missionary*, 18/11 (November, 1915), 651–53.

17. Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, 173–79.

18. Roche, *Catholic Colleges and the Negro Student*, chapter 3.

19. Roche, *Catholic Colleges and the Negro Student*, chapter 2.

20. John LaFarge, *The Manner is Ordinary*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1954), 208–9; LaFarge, "Founding of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," in Horace McKenna, *Twin Silver Jubilees*, 1949, 25, in Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, 153-18-18, in Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Manuscript Division, Howard University (TWTP hereafter).

21. JFA, T-13-6, Transcript of Marilyn Nikels' interview with Thomas Wyatt Turner, July, 1973, R3-S2-P6.
22. LaFarge, *The Manner is Ordinary*, 209.
23. LaFarge, "Founding," 25-26; JFA, T-13-6, Turner Interview, R3-S2-P6.
24. "Cardinal Gibbons Institute Certificate of Incorporation, July 15, 1922," John LaFarge Papers, Special Collections Division, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. (JLFP hereafter), 25-5; TWTP, 153-18-17, "A New Institution for Colored Youth Established".
25. JLFP, 25-5, Certificate of Incorporation.
26. JFA, MRF, "The Cardinal Gibbons Institute: A National School for Colored Youth," 5; LaFarge, "Founding of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," 26.
27. See Daniel's Obituary, *Washington Afro-American*, December 30, 1967, JFA, MRF; LaFarge, "Founding of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," 26; JLFP, 25–5, Victor H. Daniel, "Notes on the Cardinal Gibbons Institute,"1924; JFA, MRF, "Building on a Heritage"; "Notes Taken on a Visit to Cardinal Gibbons Institute, Ridge, Maryland" from *The Tuskegee Messenger*, January, 1932; JLFP, 25-5, E.C. Dixon to Rosa Hazard.
28. LaFarge, "Founding of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," 26; JLFP, 28-4, John Price Jones Corp., *A Fundraising Survey and Plan for the Cardinal Gibbons Institute* (*Fundraising Survey* hereafter), 1931, 55.
29. JFA, MRF, "News Notes," *The Voice*, 1/2 (April, 1934).
30. JLFP, 28-1, "A Great Cardinal's Memorial."
31. JLFP, 25-5, Victor H. Daniel to Board of Trustees, August 1, 1928, 8.
32. Cited in *Fundraising Survey*, 55. This figure does not include the original $8,000 from Cardinal Gibbons for the purchase of 180 acres in 1916.
33. Ibid., 56.
34. JLFP, 28-2, *Report of Lawrence P. Williams*, June 12, 1928.
35. JLFP, 28-2, *Annual Report of Lawrence P. Williams*, May 24, 1929.
36. JLFP, 25-5, *Statement of Condition of Cardinal Gibbons Institute*, January 1, 1931.
37. Curriculum Review Committee Report, 7. These figures did not change between 1924 and 1933.
38. See Lawrence Williams's Annual Reports, *Fundraising Survey*, Curriculum Committee Review Report, and the Annual Reports of the American Board of Catholic Missions, 1924–1934. The latter began an annual grant of $5,000 to the Institute in 1928. By 1932 the grant had been reduced to $2,000.
39. JLFP,51-9, LaFarge to Coleman Nevils, SJ, October 12, 1931.
40. Ibid.
41. JLFP, 28-1, Nevils to LaFarge, October 2, 1933.
42. ACUA, CICNY, Box 1, Report of Elmo Anderson to the National Catholic Interracial Federation, September 4, 1933. At the time, Anderson was the second vice president of the Board of Trustees of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute.
43. See JLFP, 25-5, "Memorandum on the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," September 12, 1935; JLFP, 51-9, LaFarge to Michael Curley, January 23, 1934; LaFarge, "Founding," 28.
44. JFA, MRF, "Notes Taken on a Visit to Cardinal Gibbons Institute," *The Tuskegee Messenger*, January, 1932, 11.
45. TWTP, 153-18-17, "A New Institution for Colored Youth Established in Maryland"; JFA, MRF, "The Cardinal Gibbons Institute: A National School for Colored Youth," 4; JFA, T-13-6, Nickels' interview with Turner, R3-S2-P6.
46. JFA, M-8-15, "Report of the Principal of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute for the Year, 1925–

1926," in *The Council Review* (official organ of the Federated Colored Catholics); Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*, 229.
47. JLFP, 25–5, *Notes on the Cardinal Gibbons Institute.*
48. Ibid.
49. JLFP, 25-5, "Cardinal Gibbons Supplementary Leaflet," emphasis in original.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid; the first public schools for African Americans in St. Mary's County were established in 1872. Three Catholic parochial schools were opened in the county between 1887 and 1917. Thus, the Cardinal Gibbons Institute was the first secondary school for African Americans in St. Mary's County. It is not clear whether students were required to take an entrance exam. Sandy Shoemaker, *Tobacco to Tomcats: St. Mary's County since the Revolution* (Leonardtown: StreamLine Enterprises, 2004), 102–106.
52. Principal's Report, 1925–26, 12.
53. "Cardinal Gibbons Institute Supplementary Leaflet;" Principal's Report, 1925–26.
54. *Fundraising Survey*, 50.
55. *Fundraising Survey*, 55; "Cardinal Gibbons Supplemental Leaflet."
56. *Fundraising Survey*, 55; JLFP, 28-1, Schedules of Classes, 1927–1932; LaFarge, "Founding," 29.
57. JLFP, Class Schedules, 1927-1930.
58. JLFP, 28-2, Principal's Report, June 4, 1932.
59. See Curriculum Review Committee Report.
60. Ibid.
61. Principal's Reports, 1926, 1932; JLFP, 25-5, Curriculum Study Committee Report to the Board of Trustees, August 26, 1932; "Notes Taken on a Visit to Cardinal Gibbons Institute."
62. LaFarge, "Founding," 29–30; *Fundraising Survey*, 58–60.
63. "Notes Taken on a Visit to Cardinal Gibbons Institute," 11.
64. Curriculum Study Committee Report.
65. See JLFP, 28-1, "Notes on Early Meetings of [the] Board and Executive Committee"; JLFP, 51-11, Constance Daniel to William Benson, July 1, 1927; Constance Daniel to LaFarge, July 4, 1927, 9-15; W.R. Valentine to LaFarge, April 16, 1932; Constance Daniel to LaFarge, June 7, 1932.
66. JLFP, 25-5, Cardinal Gibbons Supplementary Leaflet.
67. JFA, John T. Gillard Press Clipping Typescript, "Cardinal Gibbons Institute," *The Colored Harvest* 11/3 (May-June, 1923), 14.
68. JLFP, 25-5, Victor Daniel to Board of Trustees, August 1, 1928, 7.
69. JLFP, 25-5, Victor Daniel to Board of Trustees, August 1, 1928, 3-4, 15; "Memo of Letters, etc., returned to Mr. Daniel," January 8, 1929.
70. Victor Daniel to Board, August 1, 1928, 9.
71. Ibid., 11.
72. Ibid., 13–14.
73. Ibid., 12, 17–18.
74. *Fundraising Survey*, 55.
75. JLFP, 51-9, A.C. Monahan to Victor Daniel, June 10, 1924.
76. JLFP, 9-15, Constance Daniel to LaFarge, undated; September 21, 1928; October 15, 1928.
77. JLFP, 51-11, Constance Daniel to LaFarge, July 4, 1927.
78. JLFP, 28-1, "Notes on Early Meetings of [the] Board." See JLFP, 28-2, Williams to LaFarge, October 18, 1927; July 16, 1928; October 18, 1928.
79. TWTP, 153-18-18, "By-Laws of the Board of Trustees of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute."
80. JLFP, 28-1, List of the members of the Board of Trustees; 13-11, "Memorandum on the Cardinal Gibbons Institute at Ridge, Maryland," May 20, 1934.

81. Memorandum, May 20, 1934.
82. JLFP, 9-15, LaFarge to Victor Daniel, May 16, 1932.
83. See *Fundraising Survey*.
84. JLFP, 25-5, "Memorandum on the Cardinal Gibbons Institute," September 12, 1935.
85. Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*, 230.
86. See JLFP, 51-11, Constance Daniel to LaFarge, July 4, 1927; 51-12, August 22, 1928; September 21, 1928; undated, c.1930; especially December, 1928: "Mr. Daniel is getting tired and nervous. Could you write him just a little note of encouragement?"
87. LaFarge to Victor Daniel, May 16, 1932; Constance Daniel to LaFarge, June 7, 1932; LaFarge to Constance Daniel, August 28, 1932.
88. Constance Daniel to LaFarge, June 12, 1932.
89. JLFP, 13-11, LaFarge to Emile Mattern, SJ, July 20, 1933.
90. Ibid.
91. JLFP, 13-11, LaFarge to Edward C. Phillips, SJ, June 19, 1933. For more about Jesuit slaveholdings, see R. Emmett Curran, SJ, "Splendid Poverty: the Jesuits and Their Slaves, 1805–1838," in *Catholic in the Old South*, ed. Jon Wakelyn and Randall Miller, 1983.
92. See Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest*, 261–81.
93. ACUA, CICNY, Box 1, List of Members of Catholic Interracial Council, May/June, 1934.
94. See Nickels, 96–136, 226–36, 266–81; JFA, MRF.
95. Roche, *Catholic Colleges and the Negro Student*, chapter 3.

Eugene Patrick O'Grady (1909–1944), 1943. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

Father Eugene Patrick O'Grady: A Legendary Twenty-Niner and Baltimorean

JOSEPH BALKOSKI

Eugene Patrick O'Grady was born on July 25, 1909, in Baltimore, Maryland, the son of Patrick and Delia O'Grady, who lived at 1821 West Fayette Street. Both of Eugene's parents were natives of the picturesque province of Connaught in northwest Ireland, an area where the locals have maintained a fierce pride in their distinctive Irish heritage and language for centuries. Patrick, a native of County Roscommon, emigrated to the United States in the late nineteenth century, settled in Baltimore, and worked for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for much of his professional life. Delia Donlon, also known as Bridget, was born in County Galway in 1891 and came to the United States by way of Ellis Island at age sixteen. She later moved to Baltimore where she met and married Patrick O'Grady.

The O'Gradys raised a family of three girls and three boys, of whom Eugene Patrick was the third oldest. He attended St. Martin's Parochial School in west Baltimore and graduated from St. Charles College (actually a high school) in June 1930. He resolved to enter the priesthood and was accepted at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore where he studied for two years and then journeyed to Italy where he entered the Pontifical North American College in Rome and was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest on December 8, 1935. While in Europe, O'Grady traveled to Ireland to explore the land of his parents' birth.

In 1936 the new priest accepted a position as assistant pastor at the Shrine of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church in the quaint Mt. Washington area of north Baltimore. Over the next several years, Father O'Grady became a fixture in that tightly knit community, a memorable figure. Local residents, when they learned of his untimely death during World War II, evoked the routine sight of the vibrant young man, who did not hold a driver's license, walking in priest's regalia from the nearby bus stop on Falls Road to his church in the heart of their neighborhood. O'Grady's neighbors, of all religious persuasions, respected his compassionate demeanor and gracious personality. He visited the sick, regardless of their faiths, managed the parish's youth baseball teams, served as the pastor for the nearby Mount St. Agnes Women's College, and served as a key assistant to Sacred Heart's chief pastor, the Reverend Louis Stickney. When asked to com-

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O'Grady, in the shadows, and friends at Anzio, Italy, 1934. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

ment on O'Grady's work, Stickney noted, simply, "He is the finest priest I have ever known." A fellow priest later remarked, "With Father O'Grady, modesty was not a weak timidity nor a coy device for attracting attention. It was a positive virtue, a virile conviction. As with many strong men, achievement was what interested him."

O'Grady's life would change forever on January 14, 1941. On that date, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued a warning order for the mobilization of the entire 29th Division, a National Guard unit drawn primarily from Maryland and Virginia. The call-up would take place on February 3, 1941, despite the fact that the United States was not at war—and would not be for over ten months. The division would be enlarged to authorized strength by the infusion of thousands of draftees drawn from the region and would enter active service as a U.S. Army unit—supposedly for one year. A unit as large as the 29th Division would have a critical need for military chaplains, and the Army issued a call to local churches and synagogues for volunteers to serve with the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps. Father O'Grady responded to this call, and passed his physical on the drill floor of the Fifth Regiment Armory. Commissioned as a 1st lieutenant in the National Guard of the United States on January 31, 1941, the Army immediately assigned him to the 115th Infantry (formerly known as the 1st Maryland), a historic Maryland National Guard regiment and one of the cornerstones of the 29th Division.

O'Grady reported for active duty on February 3 and traveled with his outfit to Fort Meade, Maryland, its new home for the next several months.

Chaplain O'Grady promptly evolved into what the enlisted men referred to as "a soldier's chaplain." He demonstrated a sincere concern for the welfare of the men he knew would bear the brunt of the fighting that would eventually begin in earnest. Soldiers of all religious persuasions, and even nonbelievers, came to understand that this gentle and witty priest was their true friend, a man who would be available at any time of the day or night to help them with their spiritual and physical needs. Within a few weeks, O'Grady had gained the informal name of Father Pat, one that endured until his death more than three years later. As for O'Grady, he noted to a friend that military service was "not exactly a bed of roses—but I'll see it through."

In the fall of 1942, Chaplain O'Grady accompanied the 29th Division to England on the *Queen Mary*, the famous Cunard ocean liner that had been converted to a Spartan-like troopship to carry American troops to Britain. Father Pat earned promotion to captain in November and reportedly received an offer for a major's rank shortly thereafter. This he turned down, however, as the assignment required him to depart the 29th Division, "I know the 115th Infantry better and could do better work with them."

One day in December 1943, on a rifle range on Bodmin Moor in Cornwall, troops from the 3rd Battalion had a little fun at O'Grady's expense. Father Pat, shooting with the men, did not understand why the soldier in the pit behind the target kept signaling with the flag that indicated a "complete miss." The perplexed O'Grady wondered aloud how he could be such a poor shot, but the next day he discovered the truth. One of his best friends in the battalion was the man in the pit, and according to O'Grady, "When he found out over the phone who was shooting, he decided to have some fun. That's just how I took it, so we are still the best of friends."

During the 115th's training period in Cornwall, England, Chaplain O'Grady established a small military chapel in the village of Bodmin near an old British Army barracks occupied by the 3rd Battalion and made it clear to all that this was a place in which a soldier could seek solitude, knowledge, or priestly advice. He greeted PFC William Melander, a newcomer to the 115th Infantry upon his arrival in Bodmin who later noted, "Here was a man we could relate to . . . [In his chapel] you could sit with him and confide any problems that might be troubling you, and when you left his chapel the world outside seemed to be so much better. His dry Irish wit had a way with all he came in contact with. He had a writing room and a library of sorts for the men. If you needed special books to study to improve yourself, he would arrange to get them for you. I used this service to advantage and he was always there to guide me."

The 115th Infantry was destined to play a major role in an event that would

change the world—and that moment came at about 11:30 A.M. on D-Day, June 6, 1944. On that memorable day, Chaplain O'Grady accompanied the 3rd Battalion, 115th Infantry, in the assault on Omaha Beach in Normandy, France, an operation of immense complexity and daring that soon prompted the U.S. Army to grant the regiment the highly prestigious Distinguished Unit Citation—an award that current members of the Maryland National Guard's 115th Infantry still wear proudly on their uniforms. According to the invasion plan, the battalion's passage across the beach should have been comparatively straightforward as the beachhead would already have been secured by the initial assault elements of the 1st and 29th Infantry Divisions. They believed the difficult fighting would come later, as they pushed inland. Yet the regiment had to fight its way up the coastal bluffs and into a formidable German strongpoint situated in the seaside village of St. Laurent-sur-Mer, a battle that cost the 3rd Battalion dozens of casualties.

Over the next two and a half months, the 115th Infantry's war became infinitely more difficult and costly, as the men plunged ahead into the perplexing bocage country of Normandy toward the interior. The enemy, resolved to fight for every foot of ground, zeroed in mortar and artillery fire with uncanny accuracy each time the 29ers attempted to push forward. The 115th's initial objective, the city of St. Lô, should have taken one week to capture but ultimately took more than six and cost the regiment in excess of 2,100 casualties.

Later, as part of the U.S. Army's breakout from Normandy, known as "Operation Cobra," the 29th Division moved southward toward the city of Vire and endured another tough fight of more than two weeks' duration to secure that crucial area. When that battle came to an end, the once-proud German Army had been virtually destroyed, and its survivors streamed out of Normandy toward Germany, leaving a scene of such carnage that General Eisenhower noted that it "could only be described by Dante." By mid-August 1944, the 29th Division finally pulled out of the line for a real rest, during which time the men had a chance to watch USO shows, write letters home, and attend religious services.

Throughout this summer of bitter combat, Father Pat offered constant solace and firm encouragement to members of the 115th, acts that earned him eternal gratitude and respect from the GIs whose lives he cared for so deeply. According to T/4 Lemuel McGinnis, a member of the 115th Infantry's Medical Detachment, Chaplain O'Grady commonly visited the 3rd Battalion aid station, close behind the front lines, carrying armloads of coffee and sugar to distribute to the GIs. He also helped attend to the wounded and offer spiritual guidance to those who sought it. One day McGinnis and O'Grady had the sad duty of preparing the bodies of several dead comrades for burial, a task no one could ever forget. McGinnis remarked to Father Pat, "This will be a sad day for the men's families" and O'Grady responded, "It would be sadder if the families did not know their loved ones' fates."

The U.S. First Army awarded Chaplain O'Grady the Bronze Star for valor on July 10, 1944. His battalion commander, Lt. Col. Arthur Sheppe, wrote, "It may be said without exaggeration that the greatest single contribution to the morale of the personnel of this battalion has been the work of Chaplain O'Grady. He epitomizes the militant man of God, and a few words coming from Father O'Grady have on untold occasions, when the going was rough, changed the entire outlook of some individuals—buoyed them and spurred them on to greater efforts. Danger meant nothing to this chaplain. . . . He works untiringly day and night."

On August 21, 1944, the 29th Division departed Normandy for Brittany to participate in what was expected to be a comparatively easy campaign, seizure of the critical port of Brest, isolated far behind the front lines on the western tip of the Brittany peninsula. Yet the effort to capture Brest turned out to be much more arduous than anyone had anticipated. The offensive began on August 25, but it took almost a month of fighting just as grueling as that of Normandy to liberate the city, an effort that cost O'Grady's 3rd Battalion, 115th Infantry nearly 300 men out of its normal complement of 800. Ironically, by the time the 29th Division entered Brest, the main battlefront had moved to the German frontier, hundreds of miles to the east, and by that time the supreme command had decided that Brest was too damaged and too distant from the front to have any use as a point of entry of men and supplies from the United States.

In the fall of 1944, the 29th Division made the lengthy journey by train and truck from Brittany to Heerlen, a town in southern Holland adjacent to the German border. Due to increased enemy resistance and severe Allied logistical difficulties, the Western Front had stabilized from the North Sea to the Swiss border, and the Allied high command urgently needed troops to take their places in this continuous, immensely long battle line. By September 30, the 29th Division had moved into Germany and assumed forward positions formerly occupied by the 2nd Armored Division.

The Allies had not yet accumulated sufficient supplies to undertake a major offensive into the heart of Germany, so for the moment the 29th Division spent its time in the line digging in and initiating raids and limited attacks into German-held territory. On October 3, 1944, Company K, 115th Infantry, an element of Chaplain O'Grady's 3rd Battalion, received orders from division headquarters to assault the town of Schierwaldenrath. The battle that ensued in the next twenty-four hours was one of the most tragic in the history of the 29th Division. Vigorous German counterattacks decimated Company K in Schierwaldenrath and hardly any 29ers who went into that town on October 3 returned safely to American lines. Company K's commander, Captain Waldo Schmitt—an old-time member of the 1st Maryland Infantry from the pre-war National Guard days and a close friend of Chaplain O'Grady—was killed in the battle.

The Allies needed months to build up sufficient supplies to launch a major

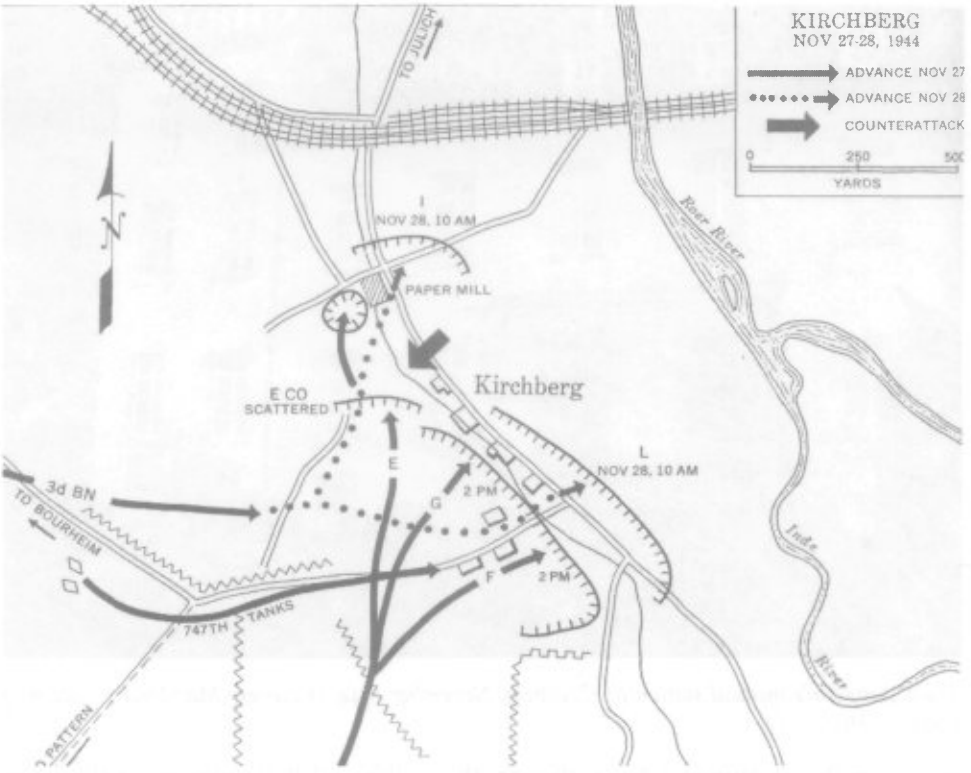
offensive, but by early November 1944 they were ready and initiated a concerted assault across much of the Western Front, intended to destroy the German Army east of the Rhine River. If the attack made good progress, General Eisenhower would consider a later offensive across the Rhine into the heart of Germany—an event that the Allies hoped could bring about Hitler's downfall sometime in early 1945.

The 29th Division, now a part of the new U.S. Ninth Army under the command of Lt. Gen. William Simpson, was scheduled to join in the Allied offensive on November 10, but poor weather postponed the attack until November 16. The 29th's initial objective, the city of Jülich, sat on the east bank of the Roer River about nine miles east of the front lines. The division occupied a sector of the Roer Plain, a flat, featureless, and soggy region notable only for its rich agriculture and abundant coal mines. That the attackers would have virtually no cover from enemy fire in this kind of terrain became obvious to the 115th Infantry from the moment the assault commenced.

Chaplain O'Grady's 3rd Battalion, under the command of an old-time Maryland National Guardsman from Cumberland, Lt. Col. Randolph Millholland, joined the attack on November 17. Millholland's men had to traverse a completely open plain to reach their objective, the German village of Siersdorf. The enemy had fortified the surrounding countryside and the village itself with a thoroughness reminiscent of World War I, and for the 3rd Battalion to move through that terrain in the face of the enemy's formidable defenses and firepower was just as challenging as a bayonet charge across no-man's-land in the last war—yet it had to be done. The 3rd Battalion's fight for Siersdorf was probably its toughest of World War II, and Father Pat worked unceasingly to care for his dead and wounded comrades and lend spiritual support to the combat soldiers at the front. O'Grady's 3rd Battalion lost more than 150 men in two days, among them Millholland and all three of his rifle company commanders. Those who understood the fervor with which Chaplain O'Grady exerted himself at these difficult pursuits greatly admired his efforts. A 3rd Battalion clerk noted, "Never have I seen his face clouded—a smile always beamed new hope into our tormented souls."

The battered battalion pushed slowly ahead for two more days to the village of Durboslar and was finally relieved by a fresh outfit on November 21. On Thursday, November 23, Father Pat helped to organize a Thanksgiving Day dinner for the men with all of the elements the GIs could remember from their holidays at home, including turkey, gravy, cranberry sauce, vegetables, and assorted desserts. All enjoyed the meal, despite the obvious fact that German artillery was well within range of the battalion's bivouac area. It was the last Thanksgiving that Father Eugene Patrick O'Grady would ever enjoy.

The 29th Division's first major offensive in Germany had followed a pattern that some of its veterans knew well. Regardless of the effort and firepower the Americans devoted to an assault, the resolute Germans consistently demonstrated their extraordinary skill as fighters by fiercely contesting every foot of ground the



Kirchberg, on the Roer River, November, 1944. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

29th gained. Consequently, the enemy exacted a high price in American lives each time the 29th attacked—a terrible truth that Chaplain O'Grady saw first-hand at Siersdorf and Durboslar, just as he had on Omaha Beach, and at St. Lô, Vire, and Brest. The young priest found this considerably more arduous and traumatic work than he had imagined facing when he joined the 115th Infantry at Fort Meade. But he knew he had to do it to the best of his ability because the exhausted fighting men, the wounded, and the families of the dead deserved his personal attention and consolation.

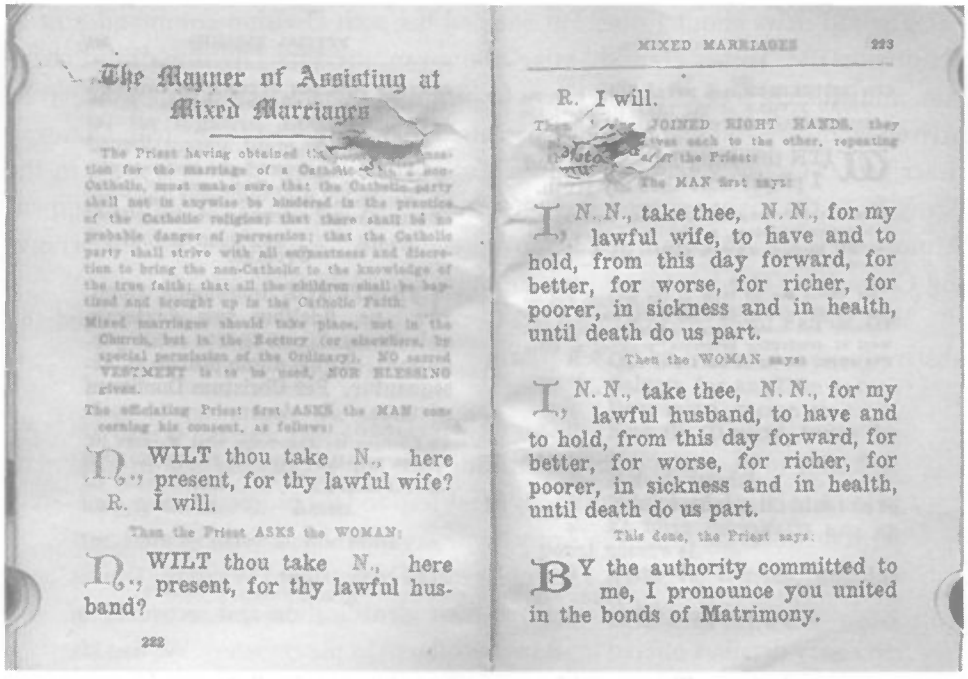
In the past, when the 29th Division had maintained relentless pressure on the Germans, they had eventually cracked—and on the Roer Plain in the aftermath of Thanksgiving, the 29ers fervently hoped that they were about to do so again. To sustain that pressure, the 115th Infantry was recommitted to the battle on November 27, 1944. By that time the enemy had withdrawn to its final defense line around Jülich, and the 115th's new mission was to seize the southernmost bastion in that line, the village of Kirchberg.

Situated on the west bank of the Roer River about two miles south of Jülich, Kirchberg was heavily fortified by the enemy and promised to be just as tough an objective as Siersdorf had been ten days previously. But in a brilliantly executed

Third Battalion's medical station at Kirchberg, November 1944. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

attack on the morning of November 27, the 115th's 2nd Battalion seized the town in a single stroke with comparatively light casualties. In the afternoon Lt. Col. William Blandford, the 115th's commander, directed the 3rd Battalion into Kirchberg with orders to help the 2nd Battalion mop up the town and press on toward the Roer. By the next day, November 28, the 115th had secured Kirchberg, and the 3rd Battalion dispatched patrols to scout the Roer's west bank.

The 3rd Battalion's medical section moved into Kirchberg immediately behind the patrols advancing toward the Roer and set up an aid station in the basement of a large white farmhouse known locally as Wymarshof Gut. The exterior of the house had suffered considerable shell damage, but the sturdy masonry walls in the cellar offered reasonable security to the wounded and those who cared for them. Even better, the men located an ancient barrel-stove in a corner of the basement, and they promptly stoked it up to keep the aid station as warm as possible. Every occupant of that cellar knew that Father O'Grady would pay them a visit sometime that day because that was the only way the chaplain knew how to carry out his job. True, Wymarshof was a little too close to the front lines for comfort, but those medical personnel who had survived the 29th Division's harsh fighting in Normandy and Brittany were by now completely used to those kinds of risks—and they knew that O'Grady was too. One member of the 3rd Battalion's medical section, T/4 Lemuel McGinnis, who had joined the Maryland National Guard in Chestertown in 1939, remembered that the opposite bank of the Roer River—occupied by the Ger-



The Manner of Assisting at Mixed Marriages

The Priest having obtained the [illegible] tion for the marriage of a Catholic [illegible] non-Catholic, must make sure that the Catholic party shall not in anywise be hindered in the practice of the Catholic religion; that there shall be no probable danger of perversion; that the Catholic party shall strive with all earnestness and discretion to bring the non-Catholic to the knowledge of the true faith; that all the children shall be baptised and brought up in the Catholic Faith.

Mixed marriages should take place, not in the Church, but in the Rectory (or elsewhere, by special permission of the Ordinary). NO sacred VESTMENT is to be used, NOR BLESSING given.

The officiating Priest first ASKS the MAN concerning his consent, as follows:

D. WILT thou take N., here present, for thy lawful wife?
R. I will.

Then the Priest ASKS the WOMAN:

D. WILT thou take N., here present, for thy lawful husband?

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R. I will.

Then [illegible] JOINED RIGHT HANDS, they [illegible] each to the other, repeating [illegible] after the Priest:

The MAN first says:

I N. N., take thee, N. N., for my lawful wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, until death do us part.

Then the WOMAN says:

I N. N., take thee, N. N., for my lawful husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, until death do us part.

This done, the Priest says:

BY the authority committed to me, I pronounce you united in the bonds of Matrimony.

Father O'Grady's Bible, note the shrapnel holes. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

mans, and only about 600 yards distant—could be easily seen from Wymarshof's upper-story windows. Indeed, McGinnis remarked that he could make out enemy soldiers lining up on the far bank for meals.

Typically, in combat, Chaplain O'Grady would have been back at the regimental command post, the medical company's collection station, or even the division's hospital, yet he made a point of visiting his battalion's aid station just behind the front lines as often as he could. On the afternoon of November 29, 1944, his jeep packed with assorted contributions for the welfare of the aidmen and wounded, he resolved to visit again. His jeep pulled up near the aid station at about 3:00 PM, he jumped out, grabbed an armload of offerings, and proceeded into a large courtyard adjacent to the house, heading straight for the entrance.

In all likelihood, alert enemy observers on the far side of the Roer spotted the jeep's arrival. In just a few seconds, the Germans initiated a mortar barrage aimed at the house in Kirchberg occupied by the aid station—something they had done several times in the past twenty-four hours. McGinnis noted that from the aid station he could hear the report of the enemy mortars as they fired. Father Pat was caught in the open, and tragically the German fire was highly accurate. Several shells detonated near the building and in the courtyard, and a shell fragment from one of them struck O'Grady in the back of the head. According to T/4 McGinnis, he was "instantly killed, and there was nothing that could be done to save him."

Chaplain Eugene Patrick O'Grady of the 29th Infantry Division was dead.

The sad news about Father Pat reached the 29th Division command post at about 5:00 PM. Father Harold "Mike" Donovan, the 29th Division's head chaplain, immediately set out to Kirchberg to pick up O'Grady's remains, but when he arrived he discovered that the body had already been moved to the rear. Donovan described O'Grady, a fellow Baltimorean, as "one of my closest friends in the Army from the night we took our physical exam together at the Fifth Regiment Armory in 1941." An anguished Donovan assumed the responsibility for arranging Chaplain O'Grady's funeral for the next day, November 30, 1944.

Two weeks later, in a letter to O'Grady's parents, Donovan described the austere funeral in a simple Dutch pasture:

> I blessed the body after putting my stole on Gene's shoulders—I consider it an honor to have that stole buried with your son because he was an ideal priest and chaplain. I took the body in my jeep and the procession of priests' jeeps drove to the American Army Cemetery in Holland. [still located outside the town of Margraten, a few miles east of Maastricht.] When the Graves Registration soldiers had completed their identification and recording of necessary details, I offered mass in a small tent in the cemetery. We had six priests acting as pallbearers. After mass the priests made all the responses at the blessing of the body and at the burial. I can assure you that it was a sad group of priests that walked away from Gene's grave after 'Taps' was played by our bugler.

Reporter Lou Azrael, also present, later wrote his impressions of Father Pat's funeral in a December 2 article in the *Baltimore News-Post*:

> Chaplain O'Grady's body still lay on the aid station litter, covered with a brown U.S. Army blanket. Chaplain Donovan took his own stole and placed it around his friend's neck. The litter was placed crosswise over the back seat of Donovan's jeep. Five other mud-colored open jeeps lined up behind it at intervals of sixty yards so that any shell that landed might not cause needless destruction. This was his cortege. At the cemetery the chaplain's body was carried on a platform of rough boards. A soldier of the Graves Registration section removed the blanket and cut into the chaplain's clothes to reach the contents of the pockets. He took out a rosary and a breviary map of the division's battle front. He cut away one of the two metal identification tags to nail upon the white grave marker which, taken from the pile that stood nearby, lay ready. Then he enclosed the body in a white cloth bag. Father Donovan took the altar equipment and arranged it on an unpainted wooden table. Over his combat clothes and rubber boots, Donovan donned richly embroidered vestments. And he said mass. . . . Few, if any, chaplains of this

> division were better loved. . . . He had slept with the troops in muddy foxholes and marched with them and sometimes hungered with them. Almost every man in the 115th, regardless of his creed, would have been at his burial . . . but none of the thousands of soldiers who knew O'Grady and loved him could get away from the front.

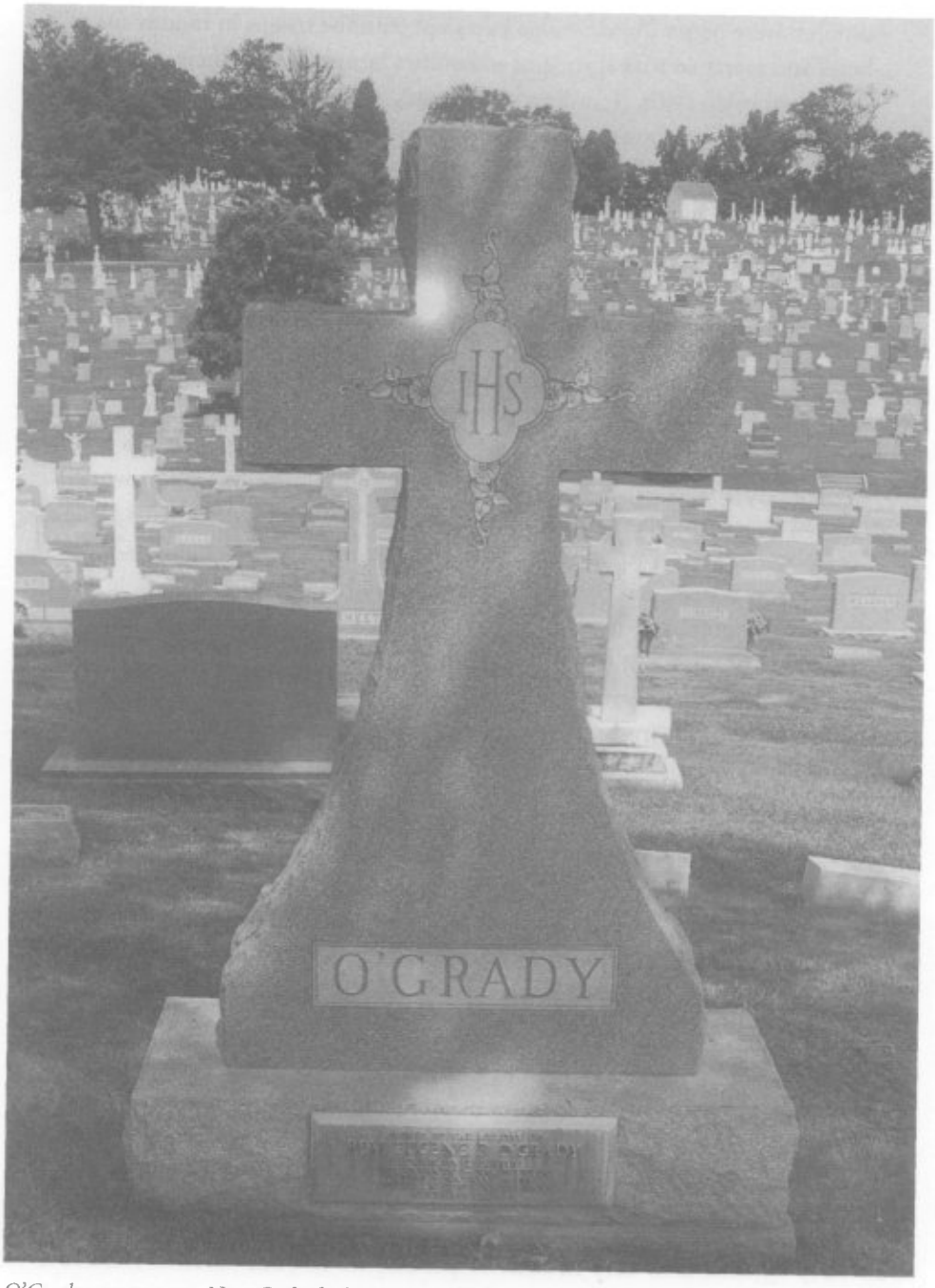
On Saturday, December 2, 1944, at 1100 hours, at a Catholic church in nearby Heerlen, Holland, Father Donovan offered a solemn high mass of requiem for the repose of Eugene Patrick O'Grady's soul. Division headquarters allowed five men from each of the sixteen companies of the 115th Infantry to leave the front lines to attend the mass. The sight of these exhausted and disheveled warriors carefully stacking their M-1 rifles outside the church and removing their helmets as they stepped inside was one that all attendees would never forget. In his letter to O'Grady's parents, Donovan noted, "It was a grand tribute to Gene's work with his men and they certainly do miss him and his smiling willingness to help one and all. It is no exaggeration to say that Gene was the ideal priest-chaplain."

Five days later, Colonel Blandford contributed his thoughts in a note penned to Father Pat's parents. "All of us in the regiment loved Chaplain O'Grady not only as a priest of God, but as a personal friend. We who are left by providence to carry on the fight share your loss deeply. We extend our deepest and sincerest sympathy. Chaplain O'Grady was a superior officer and served God and his country well. He will be missed by all denominations—both officers and men."

Back in Baltimore, Patrick and Delia O'Grady were surely surprised to receive heartfelt correspondence from Dutch civilians whose lives their son had touched in the brief period before his death, just seven weeks, during which the 29th Division had been deployed in and near Holland. One Dutch priest wrote that he had befriended Father Pat and at one point noted how fatigued his new American comrade looked after such a lengthy period of combat since D-Day. The Dutchman suggested that Chaplain O'Grady take a furlough, but O'Grady replied, "Yes . . . that would be fine; but it is impossible—I want to be where my boys are."

Another Dutch family, whose home Father Pat frequently visited, remarked, "We loved him very much. We always rejoiced when he came to visit us. . . . The day that Father O'Grady had to go to Germany, he asked me if he did not come back to write a letter to his mother and say that he was always ready to die. He was always cheerful. He always put some heart into the boys. He worked heart and soul. They all miss him very much. We participate in your sorrow. With love to you from all of us . . ."

After the war ended, Chaplain O'Grady's body was returned from Holland to the United States for reburial. On December 1, 1948, he was interred in New Cathedral Cemetery on Old Frederick Road near his boyhood home following a moving service at Baltimore's historic Basilica of the Assumption. Archbishop



O'Grady monument, New Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore, Md. (Courtesy Maryland Museum of Military History.)

Francis P. Keough, the eleventh archbishop of Baltimore, officiated at the service. Attendees included Father Pat's parents, his sisters Mary and Margaret, his brother John (a World War II U.S. Navy lieutenant), numerous members of the local and

military clergy, and dozens of wartime comrades from the 29th Infantry Division—including his best friend, Father Mike Donovan. It was the first time in the cathedral's history, founded in 1806, that the archdiocese had conducted a "solemn military high mass of requiem."

In August 2005, the Maryland National Guard, under the leadership of its Adjutant General, Maj. Gen. Bruce Tuxill, dedicated the historic Montrose Chapel at Camp Fretterd Military Reservation, north of Reisterstown, Maryland. Father Eugene Patrick O'Grady's memory—a fitting tribute to a man who touched the lives of thousands of his fellow soldiers before and during World War II. Father Pat's legacy of selfless devotion to the spiritual and physical well-being of his comrades will endure forever in the annals of the Maryland National Guard and the 29th Infantry Division—"Twenty-Nine, Let's Go!"

NOTES ON SOURCES

This paper is from the dedication speech given at the O'Grady Chapel, Camp Fretterd Military Reservation, Reisterstown, Md., August 2005.

The Maryland Museum of Military History, based in the Fifth Regiment Armory in Baltimore, Maryland, maintains a vast collection of primary source material relating to the 29th Infantry Division in both World Wars. Much of the information contained in this article was based on those materials, which include the 115th Infantry's monthly reports, transcripts of radio and telephone conversations between officers at various command posts, original U.S. Army maps carried by front-line soldiers, photographs, and correspondence written by hundreds of wartime 29ers. Thanks to Eugene Patrick's O'Grady's living relatives, the Museum also houses a large collection of items related to his life. Much of the information in this article related to Father O'Grady's pre-military career was provided in interviews with those relatives, as well as documents generously donated by them to the Museum.

As part of the research for a prospective four-volume history of the 29th Infantry Division in World War II, the author has conducted hundreds of interviews with wartime 29ers, several of whom knew Father O'Grady. Transcripts or notes pertaining to these interviews are held at the Maryland Museum of Military History and are open to researchers. The first volume of the divisional history, *Beyond the Beachhead*, was published in 1989. The second volume, *From Beachhead to Brittany*, will be published in 2008. The author is currently writing the third volume, which will in part detail the events leading to Father O'Grady's death in November 1944. For information on the Maryland Museum of Military History, see the website: www.marylandmilitaryhistory.org

Book Reviews

The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History. By Carl R. Lounsbury. (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2005. 452 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, $65.00.)

In *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History*, Carl R. Lounsbury has produced a thoroughly researched and highly readable study of early Virginia courthouses and the array of public and private buildings around them. Weaving together a wealth of information from archival documents, archeological excavations, and historical photographs, Lounsbury has produced a fascinating account of the development of early Virginia as seen through the lens of court day rituals and the design of courthouse buildings and grounds—a place that played an integral role in most people's lives, where disputes were arbitrated and rights and obligations were defined. (The Appendix, which provides a summary of public building activities in each of early Virginia's counties, is in itself a feat of research and alone makes the book worth owning.) What could have been a relatively dry and erudite topic is animated by anecdotes from letters, newspaper reports, court records, and other first-hand reports that evoke the messy liveliness of court days in seventeenth and eighteenth century Virginia.

Architectural Historian at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and author of *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* among other books, Carl R. Lounsbury draws upon his extensive knowledge of the social and cultural context of the Virginia courthouse. Physical witnesses to the rituals and rhythms of court days, these civic structures are viewed as palimpsests representing the history, tradition, needs, and aspirations of the culture that produced them. While they showcased the development of local building technologies, academic and vernacular architectural traditions, and the design and construction process for public buildings, courthouses also mirrored their evolving social context: the increasing wealth of the slave-based agricultural society, its government structure and legal processes, its attitudes towards crime and punishment, the nature of the relationship between church and state, and the definition of public versus private life.

Focusing on the period between 1650 and 1800, Lounsbury traces the development of courthouse design from rudimentary forms akin to flimsy wooden farm buildings in the seventeenth century to brick courthouses of some architectural aspiration over the course of the eighteenth century. In that period, Virginians learned to create civic institutions in circumstances that defied the wholesale transplant of British architectural forms. With few towns and a primarily agricultural, slave-owning economy, the construction of such public edifices as courthouses

was far more problematic in Virginia than in other colonies with more urban and trade-based economies. Structures that housed court functions evolved from the rental of spaces in taverns or on magistrates' farms to accommodate civic activities on the occasional court day to the construction of the first buildings specifically erected to house courts in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. These early purpose-built structures were provisional wood-frame buildings—symbols of the disinterest in investing in public buildings in a colony with little in the way of public life. Local building traditions of earthfast carpentry further encouraged the use of vernacular forms rather than British symbols of civic institutions, such as bell towers, arcades, and parade grounds.

With the growth in stability, wealth and power of the gentry in the early eighteenth century, along with the development of bureaucratic routines and the professionalization of the law, courthouses began to evolve into more permanent structures. As they shed their domestic appearance to establish their own identifiable typology, they evolved into recognizable expressions of a new social order. Features such as brick walls, large sash windows, raised platforms for the magistrates, panel wainscoting, and painted woodwork were adopted from Anglican churches and the gentry's homes, establishing common materials and forms for the buildings of the planter elite who dominated the affairs of state, church, and society. Similarly, the growing bureaucratization of legal proceedings prompted hierarchical types and arrangements of furnishings, subdividing the courtroom into distinct areas for the magistrates, sheriffs, lawyers, clerks, and public who participated in court activities. Over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Virginia courthouse demonstrated a self-conscious, but selective, adoption of academic forms—brick arcades, compass-headed windows, pedimented porticos—that combined with local building practices to establish civic dignity while retaining regional identity.

Lounsbury also sees the evolution of Virginia's courthouse design as a result of the building process that produced it. Courthouses were generally the products of collaborative efforts, conceived by committee and executed by builders. Most designs were worked out by magistrates, who dictated basic building plans and construction arrangements describing the overall size, shape, materials, and finishes, leaving details of design to craftsmen. Because there was a common understanding of local building practices, the shape and decorative treatment of courthouses was limited to a few conventional forms that were combined to suit a particular county's needs and budget. Justices could specify the construction of features or the design of an entire building by noting that it should be constructed in the "proper manner for such a building." Many early courthouses were built under the auspices of people with little building experience, but with social and political connections who could harness a team of laborers. As wealth increased in the eighteenth century, a wider range of trades could be supported, allowing

public buildings to accommodate more than the simplest functional requirements, which in turn spurred the rise of entrepreneurial contractors capable of designing and overseeing the construction of sophisticated buildings.

Lounsbury fills out the story by looking at the ancillary buildings and other structures on the courthouse grounds—prisons and instruments of punishment such as stocks, pillories, and whipping posts, as well as clerks' offices and taverns. While examining the physical structures of justice, Lounsbury analyzes the evolving nature of crime and attitudes towards punishment and how it was meted out on the basis of race and class. As with courthouses, Lounsbury notes how changing social sensibilities shaped architectural solutions, tracing, for instance, the development of prisons from flimsy one-room lockups to secure multi-celled structures segregated by sex, race, and type of crime. The book also encompasses the history of the courthouse tavern, a structure that played as integral a role in court day rituals and the system of justice as courthouses themselves. Often the largest structures on courthouse grounds, taverns provided informal venues for conducting personal and community business, as well as hospitality for visiting participants who travelled long distances to courthouses in this rural state. Like other buildings on courthouse grounds, the design of taverns evolved as the colony matured, offering new and specialized spaces as social rituals gained in complexity.

In his Epilogue, Lounsbury traces the decline of court days between the Civil War and World War II, as new aesthetic sensibilities transformed the courthouse and its grounds into formal public squares, and new attitudes about public behavior proscribed traditional court-day activities such as drinking, peddling, animal grazing, and the discharge of fire arms. One cannot help but feel some sense of loss for court days and courthouse grounds which for several centuries had served as: "playground for the young, public arena for rough-and-tumble brawling, social center for a sprawling rural community, marketplace for itinerant peddlers and local tradesmen, and administrative and judicial seat of county government."(8)

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The End of Barbary Terror: America's 1815 War Against the Pirates of North Africa. By Frederick C. Leiner. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 239 pages. Illustrations, appendices, source notes, bibliography, index. Hardbound, $28.00)

On May 20, 1815, Commodore Stephen Decatur, commanding an American naval squadron of heavily-gunned frigates, set off for the Mediterranean to end the piratical activities of the North African city-states. To Frederick Leiner, an attorney and historian best known for his earlier work *Millions for Defense: The*

Subscription Warships of 1798, Decatur's short but decisive deployment marked a significant shift in American and European policies dealing with those who used violence at sea to both intimidate and extort money.

Leiner's narrative begins in the spring and summer of 1812. As mounting tensions between the U.S. and Great Britain increasingly pointed to war, American merchant ships hastened to make that final run before the inevitable Royal Navy blockade. Nearly all made it safely to U.S. shores, save the unfortunate merchant brig *Edwin*. Captured by an Algerine corsair off the southern coast of Spain, the crew languished under a harsh captivity for three years as the U.S. fought "Mr. Madison's war." Yet *Edwin's* crew was not forgotten. Fresh from its *status quo ante* victory over the British, the Madison administration decided that diplomacy had run its course with Algiers. Iron cannon, not ransom and tribute, would free the crew of *Edwin*, and end the Barbary system once and for all.

With a congressional declaration of war in hand, Madison directed the Navy Department to fit out two squadrons to deal with Algiers. Command of the first squadron went to Captain Stephen Decatur, hero of the first Barbary war and victor over HMS *Macedonian* during the War of 1812. Although not the most senior captain in the navy, and somewhat tainted by his surrender of the frigate *President* towards the end of the war, Leiner makes a convincing case that Decatur was the obvious choice for the mission. And Decatur did not disappoint. Handed a strict set of terms to deliver to the Dey of Algiers, the commodore in short order demonstrated the advantages of operating with powerful warships, commanded by seasoned officers, and spurred on by an audacious commodore. By June Decatur had captured the powerful Algerine frigate *Meshuda*, killing the Dey's most successful commander in the battle. Within two months the American commodore brought Algiers to terms, freed *Edwin's* crew, and forced restitution from Tripoli and Tunis for prior seizures of American merchants. Leiner notes that Madison's aggressive policy had even farther reaching consequences. Embarrassed by the upstart nation on the other side of the Atlantic, Europe adopted similar stringent measures to end the Barbary system.

A wealth of documentary sources, cogent interpretations, and a clear writing style makes *The End of Barbary Terror* an important contribution to the history of the early republic and its navy. Leiner skillfully crafts a narrative that reveals the complications experienced by U.S. policy makers new to international crises. He provides naval historians with an understanding of the cultural undercurrents within the U.S. Navy's officer corps, and how its culture helped to shape the profession. Yet the most insightful revelation in the book is the paradox that existed between a U.S. foreign policy aimed at ending Barbaryslavery, while the shapers of that policy tolerated an even crueler brand at home.

Readers familiar with the Barbary Wars may take issue with Leiner's all too

brief mention of the naval campaigns from 1801–1805. Leiner credits "General" William Eaton's successful assault on Derna in 1805 with bringing the Tripolitans to terms, neglecting to mention the significant level of naval support provided to the expedition. There is also a slight thematic weakness in the book. Implied in the title is the notion that the current war against Islamic terrorists has deep historical roots. Leiner is not the first historian to make the connection. Yet the economic basis of nineteenth- century Barbary piracy makes comparisons to contemporary terrorists somewhat problematic. The linkage between the past and present is perhaps not Islamic terror, but rather U.S. foreign policy. James Madison crafted a specific response to address a threat to U.S. commercial interests. As Walter McDougall points out in *Promised Land, Crusader State* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), the success of early U.S. foreign policy was due to its unilateralist underpinnings, which prevented expansion beyond narrowly defined American interests. Perhaps the historical lesson is not the "clash of civilizations," but rather the consequences of twentieth-century American policy makers who, McDougal argues, abandoned unilateralism for idealism.

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Commodore John Rodgers: Paragon of the Early American Navy. By John H. Schroeder. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. 271 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology. Foreward by series editors James C. Bradford and Gene A. Smith. Cloth, $59.95.

John Rodgers (1773–1838) served as a naval officer in the undeclared war of 1798–1800 against France, the wars against the Barbary "pirates" of Islamic North Africa (1801–1805), and the War of 1812 against Britain, and then became the administrative chief of the navy. Although commissioned from the merchant service directly into the navy in 1798, he became known as a consummate professional officer, insisting on system and discipline wherever he went. Rodgers was an excellent administrator, a fine seaman, a shrewd judge of people, and a fair strategist—two presidents (Madison and Monroe) asked him to be secretary of the navy. But he yearned for glory in battle, and glory eluded him; his mistakes of judgment and bad luck left him a meager record in combat.

John H. Schroeder, a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, has written a nuanced portrayal of Rodgers, devoting equal attention to each part of his life. Building on the only prior biography, Charles Oscar Paullin's *Commodore John Rodgers: Captain, Commodore, and Senior Officer of the American Navy* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1909), Schroeder has extensively used the collected documents of the navy's early wars and mined the voluminous Rodgers corre-

spondence and family papers to produce a fine biography of an important early naval officer.

Rodgers was born and raised in Havre de Grace, Maryland, and upon returning there in 1802 after garnering some fame in the navy, met his future wife, Minerva, then a teenager. In a delightfully written scene, Schroeder describes the darkly handsome officer, with his thick eyebrows, terrible temper, and gory war stories, scaring the daylights out of the girl. Yet he gradually won her over. With details of his personal life, Rodgers was a loving husband and devoted, if distant, father of a large brood of children, Schroeder renders the stern and unbending officer more complex and human. Rodgers was hyper-sensitive to rank, and nursed grudges against "brother" officers who were unworthy or who had slighted him. Ardent in his patriotism and overbearing as a man, he was unctuous towards superiors and too literal in obeying orders. A protégé of Captain Thomas Truxtun in the 1798–1800 war with France, he shone as first lieutenant of the *Constellation*. Promoted captain at age twenty-six, he so deeply imbibed his mentor's disciplinary system that a visitor to Rodgers's first command, the sloop of war *Maryland*, remarked, "The order on Board was *Great*, & *Probably* too much *all a mode L'Truxton*—& Too distant, For officer to Officer—& more than I ever Saw in any Ship of War before, of any *Rate*, or any Nation!" An underlying question throughout the biography is whether Rodgers was a martinet. Schroeder amasses the evidence and concludes that he was a model disciplinarian, and that he flogged (whipped) less than the norm. Perhaps. But as presiding judge of a court-martial in June 1804, Rodgers sentenced a mutinous sailor not merely to serial flogging by every ship in the squadron, 320 lashes, but to have his head and eyebrows shaved and "MUTINUS" branded across his forehead. Ian W. Toll, who recounts this incident in *Six Frigates: The Epic History of the Founding of the U.S. Navy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006), 226–27, calls Rodgers a man with a "taste for imaginative brutality." Schroeder handles such incidents with euphemisms, noting that Rodgers "publicly punished a deserter 'alongside of the different vessels of the squadron'" (51).

The purpose of fighting ships is fight and beat the enemy, and Rodgers's wartime career was a catalogue of missed opportunities and frustrations. In one battle on the North African coast, he anchored his ship between other U.S. warships and the Barbary targets they were supposed to bombard. To his great credit, Rodgers and his squadron put to sea within ten minutes of receiving the Secretary of the Navy's sailing instructions in June 1812, but Schroeder concludes the "tangible results of the cruise were minimal" (117). Rodgers made four long cruises during the War of 1812 and all of them were unsuccessful. During one cruise, Rodgers was on the cusp of attacking and perhaps capturing an entire British convoy when he ran from two weaker British escorts he assumed were more powerful than his frigate. Rodgers's greatest wartime service ironically came not at sea but on land

— the defense of Baltimore in 1814, where his professionalism and presence (with the sailors and marines he brought with him) anchored the resolve of the militia and citizens to defend their city. After the war, he helped administer the navy for two decades, reducing fraud and bringing some system to navy contracts, but opposing steam power and the navy's oceanographic and scientific roles.

Curiously, Schroeder glosses over some important aspects of Rodgers's career, such as one of his few victories, the capture of the twnety-gun Tripolitan cruiser *Meshuda*, and his role in, and thoughts about, building gunboats during Jefferson's administration. *Commodore John Rodgers* also contains some annoying typographical mistakes. But Schroeder is a good writer and careful historian, empathetic with Rodgers but not hagiographic. His portrayal of Rodgers as a man and officer is nuanced and balanced. As a study of a flawed character, and of the role one officer played in the development of the navy, *Commodore John Rodgers* is an important addition to naval literature.

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Experiencing Mount Vernon: Eyewitness Accounts, 1784–1865. Edited by Jean B. Lee. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. 244 pages. Illustrations, notes. Paper, $19.95.)

In this attractively designed and highly readable book, historian Jean B. Lee (author of *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County*) has compiled first-hand descriptions of Mount Vernon and its occupants from the years 1784 to 1865. Her selections illustrate the enduring desire of Americans, and foreigners as well, to visit the home of the national hero, a man honored and revered in his own lifetime. His fellow citizens held Washington in such high esteem, and after his death made such frequent pilgrimages to his estate and tomb, that long before there was a historic preservation movement, they called for the federal government to purchase the property from the Washington family and turn Mount Vernon into a national shrine. Ultimately, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union organized in the 1850s and, funded through the generosity of countless private donors, purchased the mansion house and 200 acres; thus preserving for future generations the home of the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The editor has provided brief introductory remarks for each eyewitness placing the selections in context and providing information about the authors of the documents. Black and white illustrations throughout the volume complement the text. Several of these images are Benjamin Henry Latrobe sketches from the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.

Roughly the first third of the book contains eyewitness accounts from George

and Martha Washington's lifetimes. In a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, George Washington writes, "At length...I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac...under the shadow of my own Vine & my own Fig tree" (20). The early accounts illustrate visitors' varied impressions of the Washingtons and their home. Some guests found Washington stiff and formal, others friendly and conversational, even "quite merry" (30). Martha Washington is described as gracious and polite. A Scottish diarist recorded, "The style of the house is very elegant, something like the Prince de Conde's at Chantilli in Paris, only not quite so large" (31)! In contrast, architect and engineer Latrobe remarked that Mount Vernon "has no very striking appearance, though superior to every other house I have seen here....The whole of this part of the building [the west front] is in a very indifferent taste....Every thing...is extremely good and neat, but by no means above what would be expected in a plain English Country Gentleman's house of £500 or £600 a Year" (56).

Visitors during Washington's lifetime seldom commented on the slaves who kept the estate running. Lee has included a list of slaves drawn up by Washington in February 1786 as well as two farm reports from the same month and year to remind us of the many unfree individuals who worked in the mansion house and its dependencies and labored in the fields. Although she does not mention with this selection that Washington freed his slaves in his will, she does put this information in a footnote to another entry related to his nephew Bushrod Washington. She shows how Washington's legacy made it difficult for the family to justify the use of slave labor, especially as more and more Americans regarded the home as a shrine rather than the working farm it was.

It was to Bushrod and his wife Julia Ann Blackburn that George Washington willed Mount Vernon and four thousand acres. The transfer of ownership did nothing to stop the steady flow of travelers to the estate. Like pilgrims on a journey to a saint's shrine, visitors trekked to Mount Vernon to see the hero's home and pay homage at his tomb. Steamboats deposited so many passengers at the property's Potomac wharf that Bushrod felt compelled to publish a handbill in 1822 prohibiting "Steam-Boat Parties" from entering the grounds. Apparently some visitors exhibited little regard for the occupants or their illustrious relative slumbering in his grave. Bushrod would not "consent that Mount Vernon, much less the Lawn, shall be the place at which eating, drinking and dancing parties may assemble" (118).

Although Bushrod's handbill indicates that some persons who journeyed to the estate were frivolous merrymakers, the overall impression the reader receives from the numerous accounts is that most visitors approached the home and tomb with veneration. They wanted to see the house that was so intimately connected with George Washington's life and in which he died, and they desired to pay their solemn respects at the family vault in which he was buried. Many pilgrims over the years commented on the decaying condition of the estate and grounds, and

railed at the lack of a national memorial to Washington in the nation's capital. There was a growing concern that the family would sell the home, and what had remained virtually unchanged since the hero's death, would be lost to posterity.

Clearly it was difficult for the family to maintain the property, a working farm, and continue to provide access to the thousands of Americans who wished to visit. One feels for the importunities the family had to suffer. In their eagerness to obtain relics, people damaged the house and grounds. They took sprigs of cedar from the trees surrounding the tomb, fruit and flowers from the gardens, even a small piece of siding with the nail still attached. A summer house built during Bushrod's ownership was "covered with the names and the initials of numerous visters [sic], who seem to have hoped to achieve immortality by the aid of their penknives" (150). Even sickness in the family failed to dissuade intruders. In 1832, an anonymous physician recounted how a group of strangers forced their way into the house as John Augustine Washington, Bushrod's nephew and heir, lay gravely ill. The commotion caused below his bedroom so agitated the sick man that he had a convulsion and died on the spot. "When informed of what they had done they looked as though they wished the earth to open and swallow them up, hurried to their carriages and drove off" (138).

By the 1850s, an estimated ten thousand persons annually traveled to Mount Vernon. Another John Augustine Washington, the last proprietor of the estate, contracted with the owners of the steamboat *Thomas Collyer*, allowing the vessel to run regular excursions to the home and tomb in exchange for a portion of the ticket fees. It was plain, however, that what had become a *de facto* national shrine was beyond the means of a private family to maintain. Congress could not buy the property since Virginia would exercise its Constitutional rights and block the transfer of land within its borders to the federal government. Yet the state showed no interest in acquiring the estate. It fell to South Carolinian Ann Pamela Cunningham to organize patriotic women into the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association and raise donations for the purchase of Mount Vernon. On February 22, 1860, the MVLA took possession of the mansion house and grounds.

The last few accounts in the volume show how both Union and Confederate soldiers treated the estate as neutral ground and left it virtually undisturbed during the Civil War. Small parties would come to pay their respects at the tomb. The very last eyewitness account is from a soldier in a Pennsylvania regiment who visited Mount Vernon with some of his comrades. Upon entering Washington's bed chamber, the room in which he died, the soldiers bared their heads; "we feel awed into silence, for we believe the place where we are standing to be holy; we look around the room in which the great and good George Washington breathed his last" (222).

Lee's avowed purpose in selecting these accounts is to show how Mount Vernon, even in Washington's lifetime, "functioned as a place of remembrance and homage" (2). It was a place where Washington could share his vision for the nation's

future with those who came to see him. A number of guests mention conversations relating to the topic of internal improvements, including a canal to open the Potomac to navigation above the District of Columbia. Mount Vernon remained a national symbol, even through the maelstrom of sectional conflict. It connected people to the Revolutionary generation and inspired them to emulate Washington's virtues; it became in essence hallowed ground. Overall, this book dramatically illustrates Americans' veneration of George Washington and places associated with him, most especially his beloved Mount Vernon, where he rests "under the shadow of my own Vine & my own Fig tree."

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Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century. By Ryan K. Smith. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006. 240 pages.23 illustrations, 1 table, bibliography, notes, index. Paperback, $19.95.)

Professor Ryan K. Smith of Virginia Commonwealth University clearly states the central question motivating this well-written study: "Why, when Protestant and Roman Catholic relations were at their most troubled point in the nation's history, did denominations recast their church environments in the image of a longtime rival?" (6). Smith argues that the answer to this paradox lies in the unprecedented growth of the Catholic Church in antebellum America. In what many Americans had thought of as a "Protestant Republic," the number of Catholic immigrants and churches mushroomed after 1830. If some anti-Catholics reacted to this situation with mob violence—especially church burnings, Smith demonstrates that other Protestants turned to imitation—the selective adoption of Catholic church designs and devotional practices—resulting in the construction of a "Protestant Gothic" style. Hence, according to Smith, the simultaneous rise of anti-Catholicism and the Gothic Revival in the three decades before the Civil War was not coincidental, but stemmed from common roots—"the perception and appropriation of Roman Catholic power" (9).

Smith's thesis is bold, imaginative, and original. It is also cogently argued with ample evidence drawn from both church periodicals and architectural writings as well as from analysis of examples of material culture, many illustrated in the text. By linking religious history more directly with architectural history, he discovers important connections that have previously eluded scholars in both fields. In this way, Smith provides a fresh perspective on nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism; one less interested in its causes than its effects, in particular how responding to Catholicism produced important changes in American Protestantism. As a historian of religion, he sees anti-Catholicism not just as a symptom of

the economic competition, ethno-cultural politics, and psychological anxieties of an antebellum society undergoing rapid change but also in terms of real theological differences and sectarian rivalries.

Alarmed by the "No-Popery" riots associated with the native-born laboring classes, many elite Protestants, according to Smith, instead countered the threat by appropriating Catholic art and worship—including Latin crosses; medieval church architecture; and the use of flowers, candles, organs, and robed choirs in church services. Such emotional and sensuous elements had special appeal to religious consumers in an age of romantic idealism and capitalist materialism. In the process, however, American Protestantism itself underwent significant transformation, so that by the end of the century the use of crosses, pointed arches, and decorated altars had become generic to mainstream American Christianity. While generally approving of these changes, Smith betrays no observable sectarian bias. Moreover, he has an eye for the apt quotation that succinctly makes his point. For example, he quotes the *Catholic World* from 1879 to the effect that "Catholicism has forced Protestantism to wear its 'Sunday best'" (156).

Smith calls this Protestant incorporation of Catholic art "a jagged, spontaneous process involving selective features" (11). His analysis focuses on the English-speaking, mainline Protestant denominations—Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists—but is sensitive to differences among them. He also finds that adoption of Catholic trappings generated significant controversy within each group. Every denomination accepted certain elements of Catholic art but rejected others for aesthetic or theological reasons, with Episcopalians generally most willing and Baptists least so. Smith rightly underscores that church art was but one example of cultural borrowings in the fluid, ambivalent Protestant/Catholic relations of the nineteenth-century; the exchange might go in either direction.

Although his book is national in scope, Smith does highlight certain individuals and institutions of interest to students of Maryland history. For example, he notes the importance of the Cathedral of the Assumption of Baltimore, designed by Benjamin H. Latrobe, as a prominent destination for non-Catholic visitors. Ironically, Bishop John Carroll rejected Latrobe's Gothic proposal for a more republican, neoclassical Roman model. St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, Baltimore, designed by the Frenchman Maximilian Godefroy in 1806 is cited as an important early example of the Neo-Gothic style. Smith also gives attention to Baltimore architect Robert Cary Long, designer of the city's Neo-Gothic St. Alphonso's Catholic Church as well as the Tudor Gothic Franklin Street Presbyterian Church. Martin J. Spalding, postbellum Archbishop of Baltimore, and Robert J. Breckinridge, one-time pastor of the city's Second Presbyterian Church, also appear as representative spokesmen in the Catholic/Protestant polemics of the era.

In using material culture as a lens for examining nineteenth-century Ameri-

can Christianity, Smith follows the methodological trail first blazed by historian Colleen McDannell, in *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900* (1986), and his findings complement her study of domestic religion. How did these simultaneous transformations in the private and public devotional life of American Protestantism relate? Why, in particular, were women so much more prominent in the former than in the latter process? In his otherwise excellent book, Smith does not directly address these questions. Future studies may do so, as well as fill in the details of how the "Protestant Gothic" became established at the local, regional, and denominational levels. For now, *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses* brightly illuminates an important and previously unsuspected dimension of Protestant/Catholic relations in nineteenth-century America.

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Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform. By Bruce Laurie. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 340 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, appendices, index. Cloth, $65.00. Paper, $23.99.)

When we read that in 1834 William Lloyd Garrison (about whom this book is explicitly *not* about), rebuked African American voters for not supporting an abolitionist candidate, we are reminded that in Massachusetts black males enjoyed the right to vote long before the Civil War. And this was at a time when that privilege was being rescinded nearly everywhere else, like Pennsylvania, for example, which backtracked to exclude blacks from voting in its constitution of 1837. Furthermore, Bay Staters never experienced the anti-black or anti-abolitionist backlash comparable to the violence that erupted in Jacksonian Philadelphia or New York City.

Bruce Laurie is professor of history at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and has written extensively on labor history. He confesses that it was the combination of personal and professional that inspired him to write about the impassioned antislavery struggles that took place in the region he has called home for a third of a century.

The harsh climate, unforgiving soil, and short growing season made plantation slavery unfeasible in Massachusetts. While some colonial New Englanders owned domestic slaves, this region did not evolve a slave society. When by the 1830s New England was being eclipsed in the halls of government by the South, some New Englanders channeled their anti-Southern fervor into abolitionism.

But Bay State abolitionism progressed "beyond Garrison," whose emphasis on "moral suasion" rooted in Protestant autonomy of the individual, defined goals that he refused to pursue into the raucous arena of politics. Although he did support women's rights, Garrison was reluctant to entertain the overtures of labor

activists in the interest of building a greater coalition. And because historians have concentrated on William Lloyd Garrison to produce nearly a dozen biographies of him in the past half century, the details of his career have overshadowed the secondary antislavery movement.

For Garrisonians the shift from the ideals of egalitarianism to the opportunism of the Liberty Party, formed in 1840, and then of its successor the Free Soil Party, formed in 1848 was contemptible. Laurie analyzes these political realignments, revealing that politicized abolitionism was tainted with racism that ranged from benign paternalism to militant colonizationism. Yet, even as some of these white abolitionists turned out to be "summer soldiers," the antebellum African American leaders from Massachusetts such as David Walker, William Cooper Nell and John Swett Rock numbered among the most talented and politically savvy in the nation.

Reacting to the increasing rate of immigration in the 1840's, nativistic societies formed to protect "American" values gave rise to the Know-Nothing party. Free Soilers such as Henry Wilson who joined the new party viewed the plantation system of the South in the same light as they saw the Catholic Church with their comparable hierarchies of parasitic planters and prelates living off the labor of others. The very literacy test later used in the defeated Confederacy to strip African Americans of the right to vote originated in that most liberal of Northern states, Massachusetts, where, intended to keep the Catholic Irish from the ballot box, it sailed into the statute books with two-thirds of the popular vote in an 1857 referendum.

On the other hand, other abolitionists such as Francis Bird were outraged when in 1856 their old Free Soil associates and fellow founders of the new Republican party cooperated with the Know-Nothings to give them the Massachusetts governorship. That is also the year, readers of the *MdHM* may recall, that Maryland earned the dubious distinction of being the nation's only state carried by Know-Nothing candidate Millard Fillmore.

While the minutiae of these long-forgotten political parties are going to be tedious for most readers who are not specialists, it is fascinating to glimpse the early careers of men who would later resurface in other pivotal roles. Elizur Wright, who helped to found Western Reserve College in Ohio and then was fired from the institution for walking arm-in-arm with a black man during a commencement ceremony, later elaborated actuarial tabulations that earned him the title "Father of Life Insurance." Henry Wilson, who abandoned the Whigs in 1848 to help organize the Free Soil party and was then elected to the Senate by the Know-Nothings, would become Grant's vice president in 1872. Charles Sumner, sent to the Senate in 1851 by an alliance of Free-Soilers and Democrats, would lead the radical Republicans in their plan for Reconstruction in the defeated South.

Laurie's scholarly recreation of antebellum party politics and community

life effectively demonstrates the power of coalitions and compromise that can win the day at the state and local level. He is to be especially commended for tracking down and reproducing so many evocative portraits of the men and women who enliven the pages of his study. As excellent as is the quality of his research, however, readers must be warned that Laurie does not spoon-feed his readers by refreshing their memories. They must provide their own explanatory footnotes and make their own connections with what they can manage to recall about this dynamic period of our history.

JACK SHREVE
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The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War. By Frank Towers. (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2004. 272 pages. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, $45.00.)

The publisher has engaged in a bit of misdirection in the packaging and marketing of Frank Towers's *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War.* This observation is not a reproach but rather a means of establishing at the outset that *The Urban South* is much more a Baltimore history than a Coming-of-the-Civil-War history and, as such, worthy of the special attention of readers interested in Maryland's past.

Why the misdirection? Civil War books sell better than ones on urban politics. So when presented with a solid manuscript focused on politics in a southern city in the 1850s, a publisher might naturally—and responsibly—look to find a Civil War angle to make it more marketable. That seems to be the case here. *The Urban South* is fundamentally a Baltimore history masquerading as a study of how political developments in three cities—Baltimore, St. Louis, and New Orleans—influenced secessionist thinking and "provided a focal point for secessionists to articulate their concerns about the tension between the democratic principle of majority rule and the hierarchical society that racial slavery supported" (1).

The arguments made rest overwhelmingly (and frankly) on descriptions of developments in Baltimore. In comparison, those in St. Louis and New Orleans are treated in a cursory manner. This fact is not surprising to anyone familiar with recent Baltimore historiography. Towers has been a leading historian of nineteenth-century Baltimore for more than a decade. His doctoral dissertation was on the city. He has previously published important essays on Charm City topics. The descriptions and analysis provided here display a rich understanding of local events and the larger dynamics driving them.

Towers begins his discussion of developments with a chapter that "explores how an ordering of slave-state city workplaces around urban paternalism gave

way to one oriented toward free labor and examines the new social conflicts that accompanied this change" (37). He focuses on the negative impact of this transformation on artisans who exercised a much greater degree of control over their workplace lives in the first decades of the nineteenth century than in the middle decades. He argues that they felt increasingly deskilled and demoted.

Towers's arguments about the nature of this transformation and its consequences conform closely to accepted ones among academic historians. This conformity is in some ways unfortunate. Most notably, it leads to a passive acceptance of an academic viewpoint that is biased against capitalism and quick to link capitalist economic development (in all periods) to downward pressure on wages and more undesirable workplace conditions for low-level employees. In Baltimore, and elsewhere, the contemporary opportunities were attractive enough to draw millions from Europe and provide sufficient income and wealth to build not only the elegant mansions on Mount Vernon Place but also thousands of proudly owned brick rowhouses, with their white marble steps. While it is true that many workers faced "deskilling," how many more found new opportunities, especially in white-collar positions that scarcely existed in the earlier decades?

The following chapters, which trace how these economic changes played out in municipal politics and necessarily intersected with the simultaneous national crisis over slavery, are the strongest and most original. Again the focus is on Baltimore. Towers is especially effective and nuanced in his discussion of the American Party ascendancy in the 1850s. He is also most trusting of his sources here. The contrast with the previously discussed chapter helps to make a larger point about the state of historical research. Researchers too often approach sources with preconceived arguments in mind. Original records are ransacked for evidence that supports these arguments. When they are instead read carefully in their own terms, the results are more enlightening.

Towers finds that urban political developments were troubling to southern secessionists. They felt that while "secession might not halt the economic forces that drove urbanization, it could stifle the political problems that antebellum social change presented to a slaveholders' democracy by . . . turning the slave states' urban voters . . . into a harmless, tiny minority in a polity dominated by country farmers who supported slavery even if they themselves owned no slaves" (35). The argument that these changes had an impact on the thinking of Southerners appears in the first chapter rather than in the last. This placement is somewhat backwards—the impact described before the changes themselves. It is probably the result of an editorial decision based on the larger one to position the book as Civil War history.

Readers interested in Maryland history should certainly consider *The Urban South* a valuable addition to the available scholarship. The writing is overly

academic—too many abstracts, too few engaging stories—but the analysis consistently insightful.

Tracy Matthew Melton
Oakton, Virginia

Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism. By Paul T. McCartney. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006. 373 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $49.95.)

Any new book on a subject as well sifted through as the War of 1898 must be entirely modest or utterly brazen. Put another way, either it must set out to tell the story of the "splendid little war" in a way that is particularly bright and engaging, or it must boldly take the old interpretations and light a fire that illuminates what others have failed to. Paul T. McCartney has attempted the latter. This author's candle in the dark is "the idea of American mission," which to him contains, simultaneously, the pursuit of national interests (security, economic expansion, etc.) and "the sometimes strenuous promulgation of American values to the world" (p. 10, 11). McCartney claims to do what no other study has done before: to provide a "sustained analysis" of both the war and its aftermath using American mission as its primary framework. He acknowledges that previously historians have used this concept to interpret U.S. foreign policy; but where their efforts were cast widely, stretched over the length and breath of the past, this study, he tells us, focuses on one particular event. The result, he argues, is "a richer interpretation of the moral, cultural, and ideological dimensions" of the war than has ever been written.

American mission, according to McCartney, is a subtle calculus of history and (what was in 1898) a mass contemporary cultural expectation which told policymakers what was and was not possible. Material necessity was a factor, to be sure, but this writer is more concerned with non-material motivations. Vague terms such as "culture" and "identity" take form in the first two chapters in discussions of national exceptionalism; in accounts of the religious and civilizationist elements of the mission concept, and further along, of republicanism and racism. The seven chapters that follow are essentially where framework and narrative come together.

The word that perhaps best describes those chapters is "familiar." To the extent that the facts and order of events do not change similarities to earlier works are unavoidable, but something else is going on here. McCartney tells the story of the war capably: the origins in the Cuban uprising against Spanish rule, the excesses of the *reconcentrado* policy that enraged the American public, to the arrival and explosion of the U.S.S. Maine, the declaration of war, President William McKinley's deliberations over the question of empire, the senate debates over the peace treaty

and its controversial provisions unfold in clear and accessible but still common narrative. What's most striking, however, is how this writer, while claiming to break new conceptual ground, has chosen to fall back on some musty old conventions. He speaks at length, echoing Julius Pratt's work of seventy years ago, of the machinations of "large policy" conspirators like Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. The impact of "yellow journalism" is trotted out rather uncritically, as is Rudyard Kipling's oft-misrepresented poem, "The White Man's Burden," and the old tale of how McKinley prayed and received guidance on the monumental question of empire.

Readers approaching the subject of the war of 1898 for the first time have here a fair summary of events; others will immediately recognize this book's severe limitations. Much of it leans heavily on works of other historians, in particular Julius Pratt's *Expansionists of 1898* (1937). Both author and editor should have been more judicious in the use of long, superfluous block quotes, which could have been summarized to greater effect. Missing from both the narrative and the bibliography are many essential works on naval strategy, race, politics, and the history of the south and the accumulated effect clearly undermines the book's integrity. Richard D. Challener's *Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1914*, demonstrates that statements like "before the war, neither politicians nor opinion leaders gave any thought to the Philippines" (274) do not hold up under close scrutiny. A basic familiarity with C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South* or with other fine works, too numerous to mention here, on southern populism, politics, and race in the late nineteenth century, would have had a salutary effect, complicating, among other things, McCartney's simplistic analysis of social Darwinism, and making him rethink his puzzling assertion that (at least up to 1898) racism had always "trumped democracy" (275). Finally, there is no evidence that the author conducted any archival research. All of the primary sources McCartney cites are published, and constitute only a fraction of what is available to the modern scholar. No account of how an idea "infiltrate[d] the policy-making process at every level" can overlook, without considerable risk, the vital evidence contained in the letters, diaries, and other papers of the policymakers. Given this, the reader is entitled to ask why the archives were ignored and what impact does this have on the overall integrity of the work. It is hard to imagine a persuasive or even satisfactory reply.

Eric Love
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Notices

Family History Seminar

Saturday, July 7, 9:30–3:30

The Maryland Historical Society will host the second program in its new series of family history workshops, "Using Land, Court, and Probate Records," Saturday, July 7, 2007, 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Noted authors and genealogists, Robert W. Barnes, Vernon L. Skinner and Allender Sybert will expand your skills with in-depth discussions of how to use land, court, and probate records. The day will include several opportunities for you to research in the MdHS Library and ask questions of the experts. Fee includes light breakfast and box lunch. Cost: $50/ MdHS Members, $60/ Non-members. Reservations are required as space is limited. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for reservation information.

Book Sale at the Maryland Historical Society

Saturday and Sunday, September 29 and 30, 1–5 p.m.

In conjunction with the Baltimore Book Festival, the Maryland Historical Society will hold a sale of MdHS Press books (with generous discounts on selected titles) and materials from its library and museum shop, including duplicate materials such as rare and antique books on Maryland history donated to benefit the Library's Acquisition Fund.

Admission is free and visitors are welcome to browse the indoor tables in the Beard Pavilion and Carey Center. The pedestrian entrance is on Park Avenue, between Monument and Centre Streets. Free parking is available on the Monument Street lot. For information, call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 or visit www.mdhs.org.

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